

ISTANBUL TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY ★ GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SCIENCE
ENGINEERING AND TECHNOLOGY

**EFFECTS OF IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION POLICIES ON URBAN SPACE:
TATAVLA/KURTULUŞ CASE**

M.Sc. THESIS

Irem ERIN

Department of Urban Design

Urban Design Programme

MAY 2014

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Thesis Advisor: Prof. Dr. Mehmet OCAKÇI

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İSTANBUL TEKNİK ÜNİVERSİTESİ ★ FEN BİLİMLERİ ENSTİTÜSÜ

**KİMLİK İNŞA POLİTİKALARININ KENT MEKANINA ETKİSİ:
TATAVLA/KURTULUŞ ÖRNEĞİ**

YÜKSEK LİSANS TEZİ

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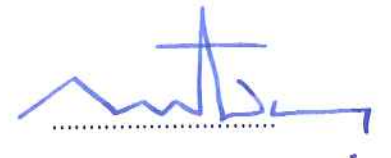
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Irem Erin, a M.Sc. student of ITU Graduate School of Science Engineering and Technology student ID 519111025, successfully defended the thesis entitled “EFFECTS OF IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION POLICIES ON URBAN SPACE: TATAVLA/KURTULUS CASE”, which she prepared after fulfilling the

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To my family,

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EFFECTS OF IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION POLICIES ON URBAN SPACE: TATAVLA/KURTULUŞ CASE

SUMMARY

The purpose of this study is to find the reasons for loss of urban identity and urban decay, and to evaluate effects of identity building policies on loss of identity. Identity is a phenomenon which makes a city unique. Nowadays, it is a topic of discussion that unique cities are decreasing, and the number of cities which look alike are increasing. Accordingly, researches on place making and developing identity are increasing as well. On the contrary, cities which have powerful identities are vanishing. Thus, investigating reasons of identity loss in historical cities and increasing awareness on this issue are major objectives of this study.

The study contains four chapters. In the first chapter, purpose, hypothesis, methodology and content of the study are introduced. The hypothesis of the study is that new policies for construction of identity cause loss of urban identity. The hypothesis is tested through a case Kurtuluş by comparing old and new maps, photos, evaluating old texts, getting experiences, making observations and interviews.

In the second chapter, identity issue is handled in a large scope containing self identity, social identity, urban identity and construction of identity. The components of urban identity are investigated through theories of Ocağcı and Lynch; construction of identity is investigated through theories of Castells. According to these theories, components of urban identity are based on natural, built and social elements; forms of construction of identity are legitimizing identity, resistance identity and project identity. In addition to these sections, relationship of place and national identity policies are discussed via cases of Thessaloniki, Mostar and Kayseri.

In the third chapter, theories are implemented to the district Kurtuluş, which is located partly in Şişli and partly in Beyoğlu. The reason for the choice of Kurtuluş is that it has a cosmopolitan structure, had a strong identity in the past, has been exposed to national policies, has lost its identity gradually and has not been studied comprehensively before. First, the location, urban development and political history related to old residents of Kurtuluş are introduced. Afterwards, elements of identity in former and current Kurtuluş are studied with comparisons. Later, policies which caused formation of and change in identity are investigated in three periods as Ottoman Empire, Early Republic, and after 1950s. As these periods are investigated, it seen that the national policies after 1950s have the major effect on urban decay in Kurtuluş. In the last section of the third chapter, interviews made by residents of Kurtuluş, who are from different ethnicities and have lived in 1960s and 1970s in the area, are evaluated. The interviews show that loss of identity has initiated with the dislocation of Rum locals, later it has accelerated by migration and rapid urbanization. Finally, in the last chapter, the results and findings are concluded.

KİMLİK İNŞA POLİTİKALARININ KENT MEKANINA ETKİSİ: TATAVLA/KURTULUŞ ÖRNEĞİ

ÖZET

Günümüzde küreselleşmenin diyalektik olarak yerelliğin yeniden üretilmesini tetiklediği göz önüne alındığında, kimlik ve alt kimlikler öne çıkmaktadır. Kimliklerin ön plana çıkması, kimlik bunalımı ve bu sorunun nedenlerini de gündeme getirmektedir.

Kimlik sorunu, tüm dünyada ve özellikle Türkiye'de 1989'da Berlin Duvarı'nın yıkılması, 1991'de Sovyetler Birliği'nin çökmesi ve Türk Dünyası oluşumunun ortaya çıkması, Soğuk Savaş'ın son bulması ve Yugoslavya'nın parçalanması, Avrupa Birliği'ne adaylık konusu ve uyum kriterlerinin ortaya çıkması, batılı güçlerin ve özellikle ABD'nin yeni emperyalist hamlelere girişmeleri gibi tarihsel gelişmeler sorunu ön plana çıkırmış ve gündeme gelmiştir. Önceleri ulus devlet döneminde kentlerde yaşayan gruplar tek bir vatandaş kimliği altında birleşirken, özellikle 1990'lı yıllar sonrası küreselleşmenin sınırları yok etmeye başlaması ve ulus fikrini zayıflatmasıyla beraber bir yerellik patlaması yaşanmıştır. Daha önceki dönemlerde milliyetçiliğe dayanan vatandaşlık kavramı artık ulus altı kimlikler üzerinden inşa edilmektedir. Bunlara ek olarak, küreselleşmenin standartlaşma ve homojenleşme etkilerine tepki olarak özgün ve yerel olan güçlenmiştir.

Yerellik ve alt kimlikler üzerinden kimlik bunalımını sorgulayan bu çalışmanın amacı; kentlerdeki kimlik kaybı sorunu ve köhnemenin nedenlerini bulmak, kimlik kaybında kimlik inşa politikalarının etkisini değerlendirmektir. Kimlik olgusunun kenti özgün kılan bir olgu olduğu, fakat günümüzde özgün kentlerin azaldığı ve birbirine benzeyen kentlerin çoğaldığı bilinen ve tartışılan bir sorundur. Bu bağlamda kimlik kazandırma üzerine araştırmalar ve çalışmalar artmaktadır. Fakat, bir yandan da mevcut olan ve güçlü kimliğe sahip kentsel mekanlar yok olmaktadır. Dolayısıyla, tarihi kentlerde kimlik kaybının nedenlerini sorgulamak ve bu konuda farkındalık yaratmak bu çalışmanın başlıca hedeflerindendir.

Çalışma dört bölümden oluşmaktadır. İlk bölümde çalışmanın amacı, hipotezi, yöntemi ve kapsamı belirtilmektedir. Çalışmanın hipotezi yeni kimlik inşa politikalarının kentsel kimlik kaybına neden olmasıdır. Hipotez, çalışma alanı olan Kurtuluş üzerinden test edilmektedir. Kurtuluş semtinin çalışma alanı olarak seçilme nedeni, kozmopolit bir yapıya ve geçmişte güçlü bir kimliğe sahip olması, kimliğini günden güne kaybetmesi, kimlik inşa politikalarından etkilenmiş olması ve daha önce kapsamlı bir şekilde çalışılmamış olmasıdır.

Hipotez Kurtuluş'un eski ve yeni haritalarının, fotoğraflarının karşılaştırılması, semtle ilgili eski metinler ve anı yazılarının incelenmesi, gözlem, deneyim ve derinlemesine görüşmelerin değerlendirilmesi metotları kullanılarak test edilmektedir. Derinlemesine görüşmeler, 1960 ve 1970'li yıllarda Kurtuluş'ta yaşamış

altı kişi ile yapılmıştır. Bu şahıslar seçilirken, çeşitli etnik köken veya kültürden olmalarına dikkat edilmiş, böylelikle farklı bakış açıları değerlendirilmiştir. Derinlemesine görüşme soruları, yerleşme, göç ve aidiyet; gündelik hayat; imaj ve algı olmak üzere üç bölümden oluşmakta ve incelenmektedir.

İkinci bölümde, çalışma sınırları dahilinde kimlik olgusu, bireysel kimlik, toplum kimliği, kent kimliği, kimlik inşa politikaları olmak üzere geniş kapsamlı olarak ele alınmaktadır. Kent kimliğini oluşturan elementler Ocakçı'nın ve Lynch'in teorileri üzerinden, kimlik inşa çeşitleri ise Castells'in teorileri üzerinden ayrıntılı olarak incelenmektedir. Bu teorilere göre, kent kimliği doğal çevreden, yapılaşmış çevreden ve sosyal çevreden kaynaklanan elemanlardan oluşmaktadır. Doğal çevreden kaynaklanan kimlik öğeleri topografya, iklim, su ögesi, toprak yapısı, bitki örtüsü, jeolojik yapısı olarak çeşitlenmekte; yapı çevreden kaynaklanan kimlik öğeleri konum, form ve görüntü, işlev, anlam gibi alt başlıklarda incelenmekte; sosyal çevre kaynaklı kimliğin bileşenleri ise demografik yapı elemanları, kurumsal yapı elemanları, kültürel yapı elemanları olarak sınıflandırılmaktadır. Kimlik inşası olgusu, meşrulaştırıcı kimlik, direniş kimliği ve proje kimlik olmak üzere aktörleri, amaçları ve sonuçları açısından çeşitlenmektedir. Kavramsal çerçeve içerisinde, bu teorik anlatımlara ek olarak, mekan ve milli kimlik inşa politikalarının ilişkisi Selanik, Mostar ve Kayseri örnekleri üzerinden tartışılmaktadır.

Üçüncü bölümde, teorik bilgiler kısmen Şişli ve kısmen Beyoğlu İlçeleri'nde yer alan Kurtuluş semti üzerinden değerlendirilmektedir. Öncelikle semtin yeri, kentsel gelişimi ve bu semtin sakinlerini etkileyen politik tarih ile çalışma alanı tanıtılmaktadır. Kurtuluş eski adıyla Tatavla, Şişli ilçesi'nde iskana açılan ilk bölgedir ve yaklaşık 470 yıllık bir tarihe sahiptir. Semtin ilk sakinleri Kanuni Sultan Süleyman döneminde Ege adalarından gemi yapımında çalıştırılmak üzere getirilen Rum esirlerdir. Kaptan-ı Derya korumasında olan bu bölge, İstanbul Rumları'nın da buraya yerleşmesi ile Aya Dimitri Kilisesi etrafında hızla gelişmiştir. 18. yüzyılın sonlarına doğru Kurtuluş'ta yaşayan Rumların sayısı yaklaşık 20.000'i bulmuş ve talep üzerine bölgeye yabancıların girmesini yasaklayan ferman verilmiştir. 1902 yılında kimi tüccar İngiliz aileleri İngiliz Hükümeti'nin önerisiyle Kurtuluş'a yerleştirilmiştir. İlerleyen yıllarda semte, Ermeni ve Yahudiler de yerleşmiştir. Kurtuluş böylece kozmopolit bir yapıya ve özgün bir kimliğe sahip olmuştur. Kentin kimliğinin yok olmasındaki büyük etkenler, semtte çıkan yangınların yanı sıra, 1955 yılında 6-7 Eylül olayları, 1964 yılında Yunan uyruklu halkın gönderilmesi ve 1970 yılında Kıbrıs Harekatı sonrasında semtteki yerel halkın azalması ve göçlerin artmasıdır. Bu bölümde ayrıca Kurtuluş'un eski ve yeni kimlik öğeleri karşılaştırılmalı olarak tartışılmaktadır. Bir sonraki aşamada, semtin kimliğinin oluşmasına ve değişimine neden olan politikalar, Osmanlı Dönemi, Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi ve 1950 sonrası dönem olmak üzere üç dönemde incelenmektedir. Bu dönemler incelendiğinde kentsel köhnemenin en çok 1950 sonrası milliyetçi politikalar sonucu meydana geldiği görülmektedir. Son olarak, 1960lı ve 70li yıllarda Kurtuluş'ta yaşamış farklı etnik kökene sahip kişilerle yapılan görüşmelerde görülmektedir ki semtteki kimlik kaybı semtin eski sakinleri Rumlar'ın gitmesi ile başlamış, göç ve çarpık kentleşmenin etkisi ile hızlanmıştır.

Son bölüm olan sonuç bölümünde ise, varılan sonuçlar ve elde edilen bilgiler tekrar değerlendirilmektedir. Tüm bu verilerin ışığında yeni kimlik inşa politikalarının kentsel kimlik kaybına neden olduğu doğrulanmaktadır. Kurtuluş örneğinde, kentsel köhnemeye neden olan yangınlar, göç, hızlı kentleşme gibi birtakım alt nedenler var olmasına rağmen, asıl neden meşrulaştırıcı kimlik politikaları ile açıklanmaktadır. Bu

alışmanın sonuçları, tarihi kentlerde kimlik kaybının nedenlerini anlama aısından nemlidir. Ayrıca, kent kimliğinin korunması konusunda farkındalık artırmayı hedefleyen alışma, etnik eşitlilik ve kültürel zenginliėin de nemine dikkat çekmektedir. Kent kimliğinin özömlenmesi ve incelenmesi bağlamında bu alışmanın koruma projeleri ve araştırmalarına katkısı bulunabilir. Ocakı ve Lynch'in teorilerinin analiz aşamasında kentsel tasarım ve şehir planlama projelerinde uygulanması ile kimlik tespiti ayrıntılı olarak yapılabilir. Bunun sonucunda kentsel koruma projelerinde, kolektif belleėi canlı tutmak adına kaybedilmiş kimlik elemanları hatırlatıcı gelerle sergilenebilir; erozyona uğrayan deėerler iin önlemler alınabilir ve restorasyon alışmaları yapılabilir; korunan deėerler ise tasarım kararları yardımı ile vurgulanabilir.

1. INTRODUCTION

Identity is formed out of differences. That is why, being unique can be considered as the key factor of identity phenomenon. Identity issue does not only involve the individuals, but also the societies and the cities, since individuals who form societies build cities. Recognizing the diversity in individuals, societies, cultures, life styles, beliefs, climates, topographies and natural resources, it is critical for urban planners to question the uniformity of today's cities. The issue is even more critical when realized that once in the past these cities were different, and now they ended up being that identical. Lately, as the outcomes of this problem are recognized more, and the significance of identity in sustainable development is realized, new trends emerged in urban planning studies while searching for solutions to the identity problem.

Locality and identity issues gain importance especially after 1990s. Nowadays, considering that globalization has triggered reproduction of locality dialectically, identity and sub-identities came into prominence (Ocakçı, 2013). On the one hand studies on place-making and shaping the identity are gaining more importance in the planning of new quarters; on the other existing identity elements in old towns are eroding and vanishing gradually. Further, in some cases constructing new identity causes loss of identity. Ultimately, losing identity in historical towns is resulted with the destruction of cultures and remarkable values in world heritage.

1.1. Purpose of the Thesis

This study intends to define both the "urban identity" and "identity crisis", through implementation of identity building policies. The expectation is to recognize the effects of identity building policies in cities and increase the awareness of conserving identity in urban planning and design.

The main objective of the study is to emphasize the importance of urban identity, while searching the reasons for loss of identity. The aim of this study is (1) to examine the phenomenon of urban identity, and (2) to investigate the formation of and change in urban identity in relation to the identity building policies. Throughout the study, concepts and ideas are evaluated, and the theories are investigated with the case of Kurtuluş, which is a cosmopolitan neighborhood and experienced an urban decay especially after nation-state policies.

1.2. Hypothesis

Construction of identity is an act of bringing identity or shaping identity. However, because formation of identity is a continuous process that is accumulated through years, artificial identification does not provide an identity, it rather destructs existing identity on urban scale. Hence, the hypothesis of the study is that new policies for construction of identity cause loss of urban identity. In order to test this hypothesis, answers for the questions below are investigated over the case study, Kurtuluş.

- What are the urban identity elements in Kurtuluş and what kind of change did they undergo?
 - The elements based on natural environment
 - The elements based on built environment
 - The elements based on social environment
- What are the reasons of identity formation and identity change in Kurtuluş?
- What are the impacts of political power on space?
- How do the urban design and planning decisions change the identity of the place?

1.3. Methodology

In order to test the hypothesis "new policies for construction of identity cause loss of urban identity", a series of methods are held in the case study area. The study area, Kurtuluş, was selected on the basis of the following criteria:

- Having a remarkable, unique and cosmopolitan urban identity,
- Having a historical background,
- Losing identity gradually,

- Being a site that has not been studied comprehensively before,
- Having been affected by identity policies.

Among all these criteria, the most striking one for choosing Kurtuluş was that it is neglected when compared to other historical sites in Istanbul. While the neighborhoods in Historical Peninsula, Beyoğlu, Kadıköy, Üsküdar and Bosphorus villages have been subjects to numerous researches on preservation and urban identity, researches in Kurtuluş, which is the first settlement in Şişli, are limited and the district does not appear inside the borders of municipalities' conservation plans.

In the study first, to analyze the old and new identity of Kurtuluş, the concepts of Ocağcı and Lynch are implemented to the site. While doing this, the methods of comparing historical and current photos, evaluating old texts and memories, conducting urban analysis (figure-ground, land use, image, circulation, number of storeys, property, identity), as well as observations, experiences and interviews with old residents are applied. Further, the reasons behind the formation and the change of identity in the neighborhood are inspected with the help of interviews, historical texts and maps. Interviews are held with six people, who have lived in Kurtuluş especially in the years 1960s and 1970s. Finally, in order to investigate the effect of identity policies, Castells' identity building theories "legitimizing identity, resistance identity, project identity" are adjusted to the area.

1.4. Content of the Study

Investigating the loss of urban identity, this study assesses the identity building policies and its effects on urban identity.

In the first chapter, the purpose, the hypothesis, the methodology and the content of the study are introduced.

In the second chapter, theoretical and explanatory approaches related to identity including self-identity and social identity; construction of identity and its forms; urban identity and its components are discussed on the basis of literature of urban design, urban planning, sociology and other related disciplines. In addition, the relationship between place and construction of national identity is studied by inspecting the case studies of Thessaloniki, Mostar and Kayseri in literature.

The third chapter focuses on the case study. As a case study, a formerly Rum¹, lately multinational neighborhood, Kurtuluş is chosen, as it experienced an urban decay especially after nation state policies. In this part, first the historical and urban development of the study area are examined. Next the identity elements of the area, reasons for change in its identity and identity building strategies with their effects are discussed. Furthermore, interviews with residents of Kurtuluş are evaluated to test the hypothesis.

In the conclusion chapter, the whole study is re-evaluated. The findings and results are interpreted by summarizing theoretical assumptions. The short restatement of the whole study is made including the key points, outcomes and findings, as well as the most striking results.

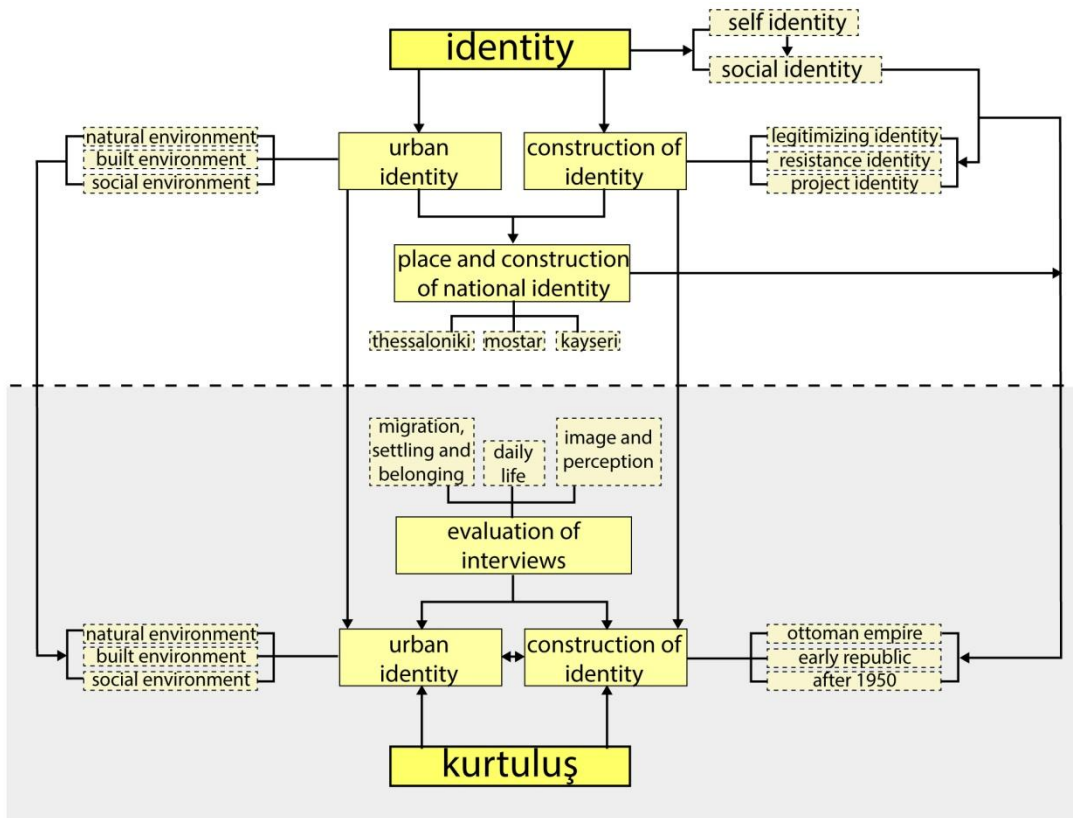


Figure 1.1: Structure of the Thesis.

¹ Rum is "Greek-speaking, Christian Orthodox, Istanbul [Anatolia]-born group of people who were displaced following a series of tragic events. Their number in Istanbul fell from over 300,000 to 2,000 during the 20th century (Örs, 2006)."

2. CONCEPTUAL EVALUATION

2.1. Identity

The word identity is derived from the Latin "idem", which means "the same" (Buckingham, 2008). It is simply defined as the characteristics determining who or what a person or thing is (Url-1, date retrieved: 03.02.2014). Identity is an expression of all characteristics of a living creature, which *distinguish* itself from the *others*, it is a state of being one of a kind and unique (Ocakçı, 2013). According to Yalman (2009, p.39), identity is the most sensitive subject of the studies on sociology, anthropology and psychology. It is a sensitive subject in all areas related to human, and considering human as the major factor in the city, identity becomes the most sensitive subject for urban studies, as well. Interrelated with the identity's attribution of displaying one's differences, representation of identity on urban space is the major subject of this study.

Researchers varying from sociologists to political theorists, psychologists to geographers, philosophers to urban planners define identity notion according to their field of study. Whether the explanations define a person, a group of people or a place, all definitions emphasize the sameness and differences while describing the notion of identity.

According to geographer Relph (1976b), "The identity of something refers to a persistent *sameness* and *unity* which allows that thing to be *differentiated* from *others*." (p.103)

Erik Erikson (1959), the psychologist who coined the phenomenon "identity crisis", assesses that, "The term identity ... connotes both a persistent *sameness* within oneself ... and a persistent sharing of some kind of characteristic with *others*" (Relph, 1976a, p.45).

Barker (2003) dealing with cultural studies states "There is no essence of identity to be discovered; rather, ... identity is continually being produced within the vectors of *similarity* and *difference*" (p. 229).

Philosopher, anthropologist and sociologist Golubović (2010) claims "identity refers to where one (a person or a group) belongs, and what is expressed as "self-image" or/and "common-image", what integrate them inside self or a group existence, and what *differentiate* them vis-à-vis "others" (p.25).

Urban planner Lynch (1960) affirms that identity implies "*distinction* from other things". Identity is what makes things recognizable with its separable entity. It refers to "not in the sense of equality with something else, but with the meaning of individuality and *oneness*" (p.8).

Philosopher Heidegger (1969) states "Everywhere, wherever and however we are related to beings of every kind, identity makes its claim upon us." This is how we recognize the identities of people, plants, places, and even nations (p.26).

Political theorist Connolly (1989) emphasizes the importance of difference while describing identity notion as established series of *differences* which are essential to one's being. One's differences are necessary for existence and these differences creates *otherness* which "secure its own self-certainty" (p.64).

Identity is a set of characteristics, which are formed and accrued by time. Buckingham (2008) explains this aspect of identity by labeling identity as fluid and contingent, thus he attributes this to the ongoing interactions and negotiations with others. Considering these interactions and negotiations, Hall (1991) claims that "identity" and "other" notions are in the affiliation of making sense for each other. Thus, identity and other are complementary concepts, and one cannot exist without the existence of other.

Parallel to what Buckingham points out, Güvenç (2009) argues that although change in *character* is limited, identity faces a change in time. This is because identity is a multi-layered phenomenon, which can regenerate itself in its life-time process. In other words, it is an ability of identity that it is continuously constructed. In addition to Buckingham's, Hall's and Güvenç's assertions, Ocağcı (2013) emphasizes that *construction*, *representation* and *relationship with other* are key factors of identity phenomenon.

From all these definitions and evaluations, it can be derived that identity is a degree of similarities and differences in comparison to others. As more differences are measured, more personalities and individuals are defined; more similarities are taken into consideration, more groups and societies emerge. As it is well summarized with a Bedouin saying, *"I against my brother, my brothers and I against my cousins, then my cousins and I against strangers"* (Gellner 1981:69 cited in Güvenç, 1993, p. 1).

Along with the measurement of the similarities and differences, emergence of them is explained with the reciprocal relationship between self and society. As Stets and Burke (2003) states,

The self influences society through the actions of individuals thereby creating groups, organizations, networks, and institutions. And, reciprocally, society influences the self through its shared language and meanings that enable a person to take the role of the other, engage in social interaction, and reflect upon oneself as an object (p.1).

2.1.1. Self identity

Self identity is a phenomenon derived from the question "who am I as a person?". Addition to all physical, psychological and social characteristics of a person, Mead (1934) thinks that self identity emerges out of the mind, which is arising and developing in social context (Stets & Burke, 2003). Since the concept of identity is defined by self and relationship of self with others in general, self identity is a combination of what person thinks oneself is and what person thinks s/he is perceived by others (Ocakçı, 2013).

As Stets & Burke (2003) explain self identity with the notion of self-concept, they include perspectives of various theorists in their study 'A sociological approach to self and identity'. According to Rosenberg (1979), self-concept is the combination of the thoughts, feelings and imaginations about who we are. Cooley (1902) gives an explanation to reflected appraisal process, which defines self identity. In terms of "looking glass self", the way we see ourselves are influenced by the appraisals of significant others. Shrauger and Schoeneman (1979) comment on this issue by claiming that our self-concepts are filtered in accordance with how we think others see us rather than what others actually see us. Thus, the self-concept is in general "the set of senses we hold for ourselves, [which are] based on our observations and inferences about us, actions of others toward us, our wishes and desires, and evaluations of ourselves" (Stets & Burke, 2003, p. 5). In this context, if a mirror

resembles our environment, what we see on the mirror as our reflection, which is the combination of first our characteristics and second the characteristics of the mirror such as material and surface, is a resemblance of our self-identity.

Giddens (1991), when defining self-identity, adds up a new dimension to the notion by emphasizing the continuity across time and space, as well as the reflexive activities of individual. He thinks that self-identity is an amorphous phenomenon and cannot be persistent; it has to be created and sustained by individual's actions. Likewise Hall (1991) describes self-identity as "a notion of the continuous, self-sufficient, developmental, unfolding, inner dialectic of selfhood" in psychological discourse and as "the ground of action" in philosophical discourse (p.14). Explaining the continuity across time, Charles Taylor states "In order to have a sense of who we are, we have to have a notion of how we have become, and of where we are going" (Giddens, 1991 (p.5). Thus, it can be derived that self-identity not only covers present-self, but also includes past-self and future/possible-selves.

Güvenç's (1993) approach to self identity is in two aspects: individual identity and personal identity. *Individual identity* is given by official institutions in order to differentiate people from each other. This identification can be classified by worker Id cards, driving licenses, debit and credit cards. *Personal identity* is associated with the voluntary, emotional or occupational relationship and membership of institutions, associations, clubs, and schools (p. 4).

According to Low (1989) self identity has three components, which are interrelated to each other.

1. The position and location of self in the real world: These positions and locations are symbolic, and distinguish the self from the others.
2. The values and qualifications of self: Self defines his/herself with some values and qualifications, this identification is managed by the help of others.
3. Belonging of self: Self is a member of a social group, belonging is the foremost factor for formation of identity (as cited in Ocakçı, 2013).

Low lastly highlights the social aspect of self-identity, because self-identity cannot be restricted within the boundaries of the individual, it finds a meaning in accordance with the actions in the society. In addition to the personal biography of self, identity "varies according to who I am with, the social situations in which I find myself, and

the motivations I may have at the time" (Buckingham, 2008, p.1). Hence, to understand the self and its parts, it is a must to understand the society in which self is acting (Stryker, 1980).

2.1.2. Social identity

People do not perceive other people as individuals mostly. Dönmez and Hewstone claim that human mind always chooses the shortest way of data processing, which can be done most effectively by categorizing. Within this context, social categorization, which is categorizing people according to their similarities, is the easiest way of processing the data of people around us (Demirtaş, 2003). Thus, people label others according to the roles and positions they have in society. These positions form different groups, where "identity enters into the overall self" (Stets & Burke, 2003, p.8). A group is "a collection of individuals who perceive themselves to be members of the same social category, share some emotional involvement in this common definition of themselves, and achieve some degree of social consensus about the evaluation of their group and of their membership in it." (Tajfel & Turner, 1986, p. 15).

Smith (1991) analyzes these "overall selves" with their roles in four categories (pp. 4-6). He also evaluates these roles in terms of cohesiveness as shown in Table 2.1.

1. The most fundamental category that defines identity of self is gender. Gender classification is universal and stands at the center of all other differences. In spite of feminism movement in recent years, gender is a less cohesive identification, due to the geographical, ethnical and class differences.
2. Second category is related to space or territory. Place attachment defines the position of the self in community. Although regions are divided into localities, localities are fragmented to settlements, and geographical boundaries are not easy to define, localism and regionalism appear as a cohesive factor.
3. Socio-economic class is considered as the third category. Skill levels and income classify the self and his/her family's role in society. In history, aristocracies, bourgeoisies and proletariats have created collective identities and been effective in decision making of political and military actions. However, this type of classification is geographically dispersed just like

gender issue, and is less likely to create collective identity. Fluctuation in economy is another reason for socio-economic classification to be less cohesive and less stable.

4. Religion is another factor for classifying self in society and defining the social environment of self. Religious identities derive from the communication and socialization, which are codified with cultural elements such as values, symbols, myths, traditions etc. As culture is related to communication and socialization of religious communities, ethnic and linguistic identities are highly interrelated with religious identities. This type of category cause sustaining strong and stable communities.

Table 2.1: Cohesiveness of Social Identities.

Cohesive Factors	Less Cohesive Factors
Space or Territory	Gender
Religion, Culture, Ethnicity	Socio-economic Class

Deaux (1994) also works on the social categorization and points five distinct types of social identification: ethnic and religious identities, political identities, vocations and avocations, personal relationships, and stigmatized groups (p.2) (see Table 2.2).

Deaux (1994) continues that even though each person is a member of various groups, only some of these groups are meaningful for persons in accordance with how they define themselves. At this point, considering Smith's claim on cohesive and less cohesive types of social identity, spatial and religious identities appear to be more meaningful for most of the people. Spatial and religious factors altogether can be defined with national, cultural, racial or ethnic identities in overall. This may be a reason why some researchers describe social identity only over national, cultural, racial or ethnic identities.

Table 2.2: Types of Social Identity.
(Source: Deaux, 1994, p.2)

Ethnicity and Religion
Asian American Jewish Southerner West Indian
Political Affiliation
Feminist Republican Environmentalism
Vocations and Avocations
Psychologist Artist Athlete Military Veteran
Relationships
Mother Parent Teenager Widow
Stigmatized Identities
Person with AIDS Homeless Person Fat Person Alcoholic

According to Assmann (2001), social identity is a symbolic embodied notion. It is an outcome of a common fiction and social image. Social attachment, common use of language, common symbolic system and especially cultural system are identified with social identity.

Bilgin correlates social identity with notions of *national or ethnic identity*. For him ethnic identity is a feeling of belonging for members of a community. This feeling is defined as being a member of "us" for community members, which emphasizes their distinctiveness from "others" and unites them inside (Akçay, 2006).

For Hall (1990), *cultural identity* is "shared culture, a sort of collective 'one true self', hiding inside the many other, more superficial or artificially imposed 'selves', which people with a shared history and ancestry hold in common." Hall defines this togetherness, oneness and having shared values as being "one people" (p.26).

Among his collective identity categories, Smith (1991) evaluates *national identity* separately as important and widespread category today. He lists its features as below:

1. a historic territory, or homeland
2. common myths and historical memories
3. a common, mass public culture
4. a common economy with territorial mobility for members (p.14)

Deaux (1994) distinguishes *national and ethnic identity* noticeably, although in some cases nationality and ethnicity can be linked to each other. She gives an example by comparing Finland and USA citizens. On the one hand, being Finland citizen and being Finnish ethnically may overlap. On the other hand, identification of American varies like African American, Asian American, Latino, West Indian etc. This example points out the notions of *supra-identity* and *sub-identity*. While American indicates supra-identity, Latino indicates sub-identity. In fact, supra and sub-identity notions are generally demonstrating definitions for two phenomena one identity containing the other like Christian-Catholic or German-mother/lawyer/woman. Nevertheless, since identity is mostly perceived by ethnicity and nationality, supra and sub-identities are mostly signified with citizenship and ethnic origin.

2.1.3. Rise of identity issue

By the second half of the twentieth century, world has faced large-scale political movements related to injustices done to particular groups because of their gender, nation or sexual preferences (Heyes, 2012). Identity issue has become one of the most investigated issues in media and in politics, and also a buzz word in scientific researches (Pultar, 2009). Among all identity issues, national identity should be the most striking subject of political sciences, as structures of governments with nation-state formations began to change. According to Rorlich nation and nation construction were two main themes of modernity. However, identity problem is at the center of post-modern social, political and intellectual initiatives (as cited in Pultar, 2009).

A series of political changes, especially after late 1980s, made the issue more striking. The Fall of Berlin Wall in 1989, dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991 and emergence of Turkish World, dissolution of Yugoslavia in 1990s after the Yugoslavian Wars and formation of new republics in Balkans, imperialist policies of

the USA on the eastern lands brought the identity issue to today's international agenda (Pultar, 2009).

Before in nation-state period, groups living in cities were coming together under one identity of citizenship. However, especially after 1990 since globalization weakened the notion of nation, locality became more of an issue. Whereas the notion of citizenship was based on nationalism, by globalization citizenship has launched to be constructed through sub-identities (as Akyos cited in Ocakçı, 2013). Hence, tendency in today's world has become attachment to diversity of values in opposition to global values, and resistances against globalization process with local constitutions (Bilgin, 2009).

In Turkey, the matter of identity has been brought to agenda also after 1990s. Parallel to the outgrowth of the issue in the world, in Turkey nation-state structure has started to decline. Due to the nature of postmodernism, which is questioning or refusing the permanent common sense, main principles of the republic in its formation began to be questioned in Turkey. According to Pultar three main factors converted this issue into a problem in Turkey. These factors are (1) application to membership of European Union, (2) evolvement of Kurdism and (3) emergence of Turkish World after the dissolution of Soviet Union (2009, pp. 1-6).

2.2. Construction of Identity

Identity is not an ontological essential reality, although it is suggested that it has an essence just like an object. Including even ethnic and gender identities, identity is not a natural formation, but a result of a construction via relationships of individuals and groups (Bilgin, 2007).

Although its Latin root "idem" means "the same", the term itself involves both similarity and difference (Buckingham, 2008). On the one hand, identity is a set of distinctive characteristics of a person or group, on the other hand it is sharing the sameness with the ones in a group. In other words "identity is about identification with others whom we assume are similar to us" (Buckingham, 2008, p.1). That is why increasing the shared sameness is a method used in order to strengthen the group identity and bonds between the members, which is resulted with the construction of identity.

Words such as other, stranger, and outsider actually point out the diversity of people. Either individual or collective, all require otherness and alterity. "Us" and "them" relation is constituted on the basis of differences and similarities. Others/them are explained as those, who do not share the same traits with us (Bilgin, 2007). Other is a denial of the self or a threat for the self. Because the case is the same from the other's point of view, other maintains its existence and struggles against. That is why, the willing of existing as an "other" is as strong as otherization.

As it is mentioned before in Smith's theory on identity, space or territory, as well as religion, culture and ethnicity are the cohesive factors for group identity. Considering Hall's (1990) assertion that "cultural identity ... is a matter of 'becoming' as well as of 'being'." (p.22) Religion, culture and ethnicity are the major factors of building identity, especially since the French Revolution. Bilgin, also supports this by articulating ethnic and national identities as a strong tool for social and political integrity. His argument is similar to Smith's, as he mentions ethnic or national identity has a compensative effect against dichotomies emerged in society due to socio-economic class, age, gender, religion etc. (as cited in Akçay).

Likewise, Manuel Castells (2010) declares that identity is "the process of construction of meaning on the basis of a cultural attribute". The materials of identity building are history, geography, biology, productive and reproductive institutions, collective memory, personal fantasies, power apparatuses and religious revelations. Societies use these materials according to their social structure. Along with social structure and the identity building materials, the symbolic content of the identity and its meaning with the ones identifying themselves with it or placing themselves outside of it are the determinants of collective identity (pp.6-7).

In historical context, defining the self and the other, labeling and prejudging the other and constructing the identity dates back to centuries B.C. Persians are the first nation to label themselves as the black-headed, to distinguish their existence and power from other nations (Demiröven, 2010). Later in Greece and Rome, other neighbor societies were defined as barbarians, while defining the societies in remote lands as "humanoid creatures" (Bilgin, 2007). In Age of Discovery, slavery praxis reached its peak. According to Cornaton, Western societies began to question the nature of natives and decided that all the differences in between were depending on the culture. Thus, in order to civilize and Christianize them, they aimed to destroy their

culture. If their attitude was sourced by their nature, then children should have been educated and taken under protection. After the discovery of this exotic distinction, the logic of colonialism has positioned the dominant culture of the Western World as civilization and classified the rest of the world as civilized and non-civilized. According to Jahoda, in the Middle Age, this separation was based on religion, and after 18th century it was based on nationalism (as cited in Bilgin, 2007).

As it is difficult to disapprove looking back on the historical incidents, Foucault defines identity as "a form of subjugation and a way of exercising power over people and preventing them from moving outside fixed boundaries." (O'Farrel, 2005, p.140).

2.2.1. Castells' construction of identity theories

Considering the power relationships of the groups, Castells (2010) indicates three forms of identity building (pp.7-8) (See Table 2.3).

2.2.1.1. Legitimizing identity

Legitimizing identity is initiated by the dominant institutions of society. The intention of these institutions is "to extend and rationalize their domination." This type of identity construction is identified with authority, domination, nationalism, as it is used by ruling power to expand existing rule. With the emergence of a set of organizations, institutions, structured and organized social actors, legitimizing identity forms civil society. (Castells, 2010, pp. 8-9).

Foucault's identity definition emphasizing subjugation and exercising power, fits best in this type of identity building. It is a method for limiting people and preventing to move outside of the fixed boundaries. In other words, it is a way of homogenizing the society. However, it is a paradox that legitimizing policies trigger the resistance identity more and reinforce its existence rather than homogenizing and shaping the "other" inside the established boundaries..

2.2.1.2. Resistance identity

The actors of resistance identity are the groups, whom are "devalued and/or stigmatized by the logic of domination." These groups are resisting for survival against the dominant power and oppression via generating collective resistance. So resistance identity is a result of defensive attitude.

According to Etzioni (1993), resistance identity produces communes or communities. The oppression is constructed usually on the basis of history, geography or biology. Although the term is related mostly to social identities such in examples of religious fundamentalism, territorial communities, nationalist self-affirmation, the resistance also can be seen in self identity as the pride of self-denigration. All these explanations are best summarized by Castells with "the exclusion of the excluders by the excluded" (Castells, 2010, pp.8-9). Foucault gives a supportive explanation to resistance to power. He claims that "resistance is co-extensive with power, namely as soon as there is a power relation, there is a possibility of resistance." (Url-2, p.9)

According to the studies of Serge Moscovici, in minority societies the fear of losing identity is as felt more powerful. While struggling to survive, religion and language are the two significant sources of identity. However, in bilingual environments, it is difficult for the minority language to survive against the dominant one. Therefore, religion comes out to be the most proper haven (as cited in Akgönül, 2008).

2.2.1.3. Project identity

Project identity is generated by social actors to build a new identity with cultural materials available to them. These actors "redefine their position in society and, by so doing, seek the transformation of overall social structure." Project identity is "a project of a different life ... expanding toward the transformation of society." As an outcome it produces subjects, which Alain Touraine describes as "the desire of being an individual, of creating a personal history, of giving meaning to the whole realm of experiences of individual life." Although Castells cites Touraine's definition, he disagrees that subjects are individual, because he thinks they are collective social actors (Castells, 2010, pp.8-10).

These identities may convert to each other in time. Castells (2010) further explains that resistance identities may lead to project identities as they gain power in time. Later they may become dominant in the institutions of society and rationalize their domination over other identities, which are now placed in the position of resistance. This process is an evidence to the fact that "no identity can be an essence" (p.8). It is also a proof of the fact that identity cannot exist without the existence of the "other".

Table 2.3: Forms of Construction of Identity.

	Legitimizing Identity	Resistance Identity	Project Identity
Actor	Dominant institutions of society	Devalued and/or stigmatized groups by the logic of domination	Social actors
Purpose	Extending and rationalizing the domination	Resisting to survive	Building a new identity
Outcome	Civil society	Communes and communities	Subjects/collective social actor

2.2.2. Construction of national identity

The emergence of national identities is in the same period with the formation of nation-states. Before the formation of nation-states, merging identity of nation-state and identity of citizens was not an issue of discussion; how citizens define themselves was not an essential issue for states; and states were not striving to form a common identity. As Max Weber mentions, the source of legitimacy was traditions before nation-state ideologies. However, in modern age legitimacy of administrations and states got dependent on mass commitment (Yıldız cited in Akıncı, 2011). In this sense, groups organizing protest movements and peace movements especially during the cold war were "blamed for being disloyal, unpatriotic and forsaking the national identity" (Klandermas et al., 2004, p.4).

After French Revolution, political common sense has turned out to consider regional or ethnic and national identities as mutually exclusive (Brewer and Herrmann cited in Klandermas et al., 2004). Especially after the effects of these ideologies, "governments in fear of intergroup hostility and engaged in nation building have tried to foster national identity and to suppress any expression of subgroup identities" (Klandermas et al., 2004, p.4).

There are various strategies for construction of national identity. Nation-states realize construction of national identity and assimilation policies via the tools of nationalism ideologies, law, military service and education. The aim of the process is to ensure the commitment only to the nation-state, not to other groups. The process begins first with the independence of the nation. Later it continues with the establishment of a legitimized government, accomplishment of cultural standardization, impregnation of

political citizenship, distribution of the wealth. By means of education, nation consciousness; by means of military service, land consciousness; and by means of politic participation, citizenship consciousness are imposed. Moreover, a shared history, common traditions and collective memory are required in building national identity (Tekinalp cited in Akıncı, 2011). As a result, local values like different languages and traditions are marginalized and neutralized (Kurubaş cited in Akıncı, 2011). It is because, no matter construction of identity is held via integration, cultural pluralism or assimilation, the bottom line of the process is assimilation, which is best revealed with the slogan "one nation, one state, one language, one flag". Akıncı (2011) investigates the tools of building national identity under three policies: education, history, and economic & social.

Education policy is the most fundamental tool in national identity construction. In agricultural societies, population of literacy was immensely low. Illiterate population was an advantage for construction of nation-state, because the population has no resistance upon historical and educational praxis. This gave an opportunity to homogenize people inside the borders of nation-state by means of education. In 19th century, private education was replaced with public schools, and elementary education become obligatory and free of charge in France. In school curricula, citizenship, geography and history courses were added to reinforce citizenship, land and nation conscious. This was effective in having a common history and culture, which together unite a society.

History policy is important in terms of rewriting history and giving the education of history. Nationalists' intention is to prove that their history is unique and different from other nations'. While rewriting history, the point is putting away the real history and replacing it with the one that is convenient for the regime. History is essential for maintaining the development of the society. Common history serves for this purpose. History, in order to reinforce national identity and unity, should be pleasing and satisfactory by containing stories of heroism. In history of nation-states, process of time develops the same. First there is a founder leader, later the society reaches its classical form and experiences a large amount of successes, which is called "the Golden Age". It assumed that decline cannot be considered as a natural formation, rather, it occurs because of the external forces. Lastly, after the decline, there should be a period of rising again. Nationalists' aim is to waken society to rise and reach the

Golden Age, like it was in the past (Smith cited in Akıncı, 2011). In addition to these, via education of history, nation-states legitimize their priority over other nations and otherize them, while focusing on their existence as an enemy and threat. Thus, the citizens form a union over national identity.

Economic and social policies are other important factors in strengthening nation-state ideologies. Formation of nation-states and development of capitalist production were around the same period. Development of economic dependencies and foundation of central governments have accelerated the formation of nation concept. Before nation-state concept, administration was multiple and divided. However, in nation-states there are two types of sovereignties as internal and external. Internal sovereignty means the sovereignty is in one's (government) power; there are no other sources of power like churches or feudal units. External sovereignty means that a government is not dependent on another government and governments are equal. Moreover, the change in government and religion had an effect on shaping national identities. Communication also had a role in building national identities. Through communication and publishing a society can be held together and keep the flow of information (pp.25-58).

2.3. Urban Identity

Stets and Burke (2003) states "in general, sociologists are interested in understanding the nature of society or social structure: its forms and patterns, the ways in which it develops and is transformed" (p.1). Likewise urbanist's interest is understanding the nature of both physical and social structure in cities: their forms, patterns and relationships, the ways they develop or transform. Accordingly, urbanist Kevin Lynch (1960) points out three attributes while defining environmental images: identity, structure and meaning. The reason that he puts identity to the first place is that he thinks it makes objects/places recognizable. The question "Where is this place?" in urbanism corresponds to the question "Who am I?" in social sciences regarding the notion identity, and it is what provides the recognition of a place. While forms, patterns and features of societies compose social identity; forms, patterns and features in cities shape urban identity.

Although Lynch's approach recognizes urban identity with its distinction, Wagner claims that recognition also deals with sameness between different places. "Places

and landscapes may be unique in terms of their content they are nevertheless products of common cultural and symbolic elements and processes" (Relph, 1976b, p.103).

Norbert-Schulz treats urban identity differently. He states that "nature forms a comprehensive totality, a 'place', which according to local circumstances has a particular identity" and the identity resembles the "spirit" of the city (Sternberg, 2000, p.39). In a similar way, in his latter work Lynch (1984) defines identity as "the simplest form of sense of place", while he is describing a good city form with dimensions of vitality, sense, fit, access, and control. According to him "Identity is the extent to which a person can recognize or recall a place as being distinct from other places-as having a vivid, or unique, or at least a particular, character of its own." (p.131).

Contrary to the idea of one "particular identity", Nairn suggests that "there are as many identities of place as there are people". He thinks that the identity of place is dependent on "the experience, eye, mind and intention of the beholder" as much as the combination of physical and cultural aspects. However, especially in the same society people perceive their environment more or less the same and that may form a common identity (Relph, 1976, p.104). Prohansky agrees with Nairn in that "identity of a place changes from person to person ... place identity is a sub-structure of the self-identity of person consisting of, broadly conceived, cognitions about the physical world" (Arbak, 2005, p. 10-11).

2.3.1. Components of urban identity

As phenomenology of place/urban identity varies from theorist to theorist, components forming the identity also changes according to different point of views.

According to Can, the elements forming the urban identity are the characteristics of local, the characteristics of space and the meaning. Combination and interrelation of these elements are significant in formation of urban identity.

1. By *the characteristics of local*, he points out natural features such as climate, topography, geological entities and flora.
2. *The characteristics of space* are about the physical constituents of the space like built and unbuilt areas, structure, symbolic effect, materials which constitute the form and the appearance.

3. *The meaning* signifies the reflection of lifestyles and cultures on space. Lifestyles, struggles, feelings and experiences of people attribute a meaning to living spaces. (Arbak, 2005, p. 27).

Relph also claims that there are three basic elements of a place. While the two match with Can's approach, the characteristics of local are replaced with the activities in place.

1. *The static physical setting* is what can be seen in air photographs, the town consisted of buildings and physical objects.
2. *The activities* in the town also can be observed clearly. He explains this with an example of an entomologist observing ants, and recording their moving, carrying, producing, and consuming objects.
3. Unlike first two components, *the meaning* is difficult to observe and grasp. It is living and experiencing the physical setting and the activities. It is sensing and evaluating if the physical features and activities are beautiful or ugly, useful or hindrances, home, factory, enjoyable, alienating; in short if they are meaningful (Relph, 1976).

Tartan thinks that the factors which constitute the identity of the city are (1) the life style of people, (2) the identity of the community, (3) public areas, private and semi-private areas, (4) the nature of the city, (5) all the city elements, (6) economic, political... etc. systems (Abacı, 2009).

According to Wiberg the urban identity, which is the profile and the image of a city, is shaped in time with the composition of the geographical theme, cultural level, architecture, local traditions, the way of life and its characteristics (Can cited in Abacı, 2009).

According to Ocakçı (1993), who adapted Doxiadis' environmental classification system to urban identity analyzing, components of urban identity can be categorized under three main sections as natural environment, built environment and social environment elements (see Figure 2.1).

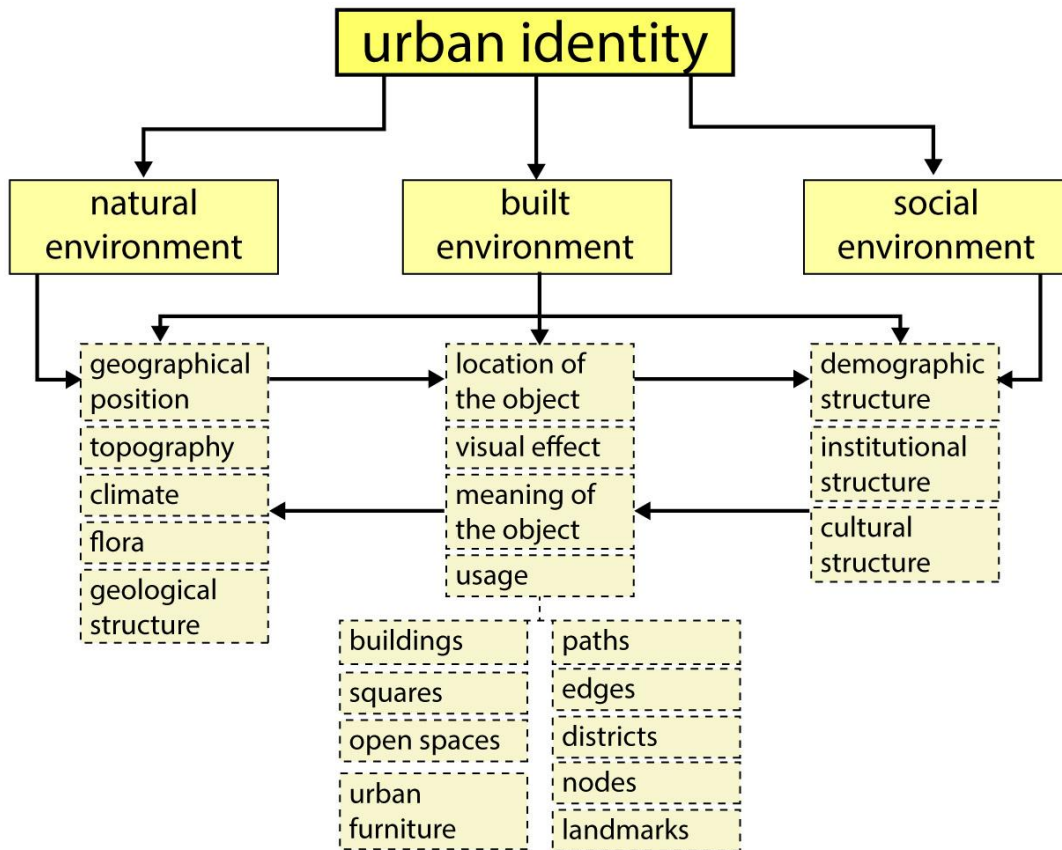


Figure 2.1: Components of Urban Identity.

2.3.1.1. Natural environment

Natural environment data effective in defining urban identity are geographical position, topography, climate, water features, soil structure, flora, geologic structure. (Ocakçı, 1993).

Geographical position is one of the major factors in defining the identity of the city. It has an effect on a lot of features ranging from local climate to economy and culture. Being situated on a highland or a lowland, on the waterfront or in a forestry affects all the architectural and structural form (Abacı, 2009). In addition it can be the most dominant factor in determining the identity of the city like it is in Istanbul. The existence of Bosphorus is identified with the city, since it is a division of continents Europe and Asia, and also a connection between the Black Sea and the Mediterranean Sea.



Figure 2.2: Istanbul's Geographical Position.
(Url-3, Date retrieved : 17.03.2014)

Topography, the natural forms on the land surface, is a very crucial factor in shaping urban space, because it affects other natural factors like wind, sunlight etc., and it also affects physical, economic and cultural characteristics. Valleys, hills, streams and rivers define the form of the city (Abacı, 2009, Şahin, 2010). The effect of topography in urban identity can be well observed in the case of the city Mardin. The hilly topography of the city gives a shape to the architecture of the buildings.



Figure 2.3: Mardin's Topography.
(Url-4, Date retrieved: 07.06.2014)

Climate is also an important factor for the identity of the city. "Climatic data like annual rainfall amount, the number of sunny days, changes in heat has a big role in

city's physical configuration" (Abacı, 2009, p.59). For instance, while in settlements cold or warm climates, compact and dense urban spaces are observed; in mild climates more spread and less dense urban spaces tend to occur (Can cited in İlgar, 2008). Various differences appear in urban patterns of a settlement with severe climate and with a mild climate due to the architectural design, choice of material, color of buildings, and organization of buildings (İlgar, 2008). In addition to being an indicator in building the city, climate can also be a direct identity element with its climatic properties such as fog in London.



Figure 2.4: London Under Fog.
(Url-5, Date retrieved : 27.03.2014)

Flora grows related to the climate and it is effective in defining urban identity. The natural vegetation of the region adorns the cityscape, and plants those special to that region creates differentiation amongst other cities (Deniz cited in Kır, 2009 and Abacı,2009). For example, palm trees are identity elements of Los Angeles and Amasya is identified with its apple. Natural vegetation brings a different visual perception to the cities due to the diversity in its structure, dimension, range, clustering, color and seasonal change (Şahin, 2010).

Geological structure has two different effects in urban identity, direct and indirect. Direct effect is related to the morphological characteristics in cityscape, such can be observed in Pamukkale travertine and Göreme "fairy chimneys" (Özer cited in Bingöl, 2004). Indirectly, in accordance with the geological structure of the earth, the typology of buildings, materials and dimensions are decided. For instance, in Manhattan because the earth is steady and on rock soil, the buildings could be designed as tall and dense, which has been later identified with the city (Şahin, 2010).



Figure 2.5: Capadocchia Fairy Chimneys.
(Url-6, Date retrieved: 18.03.2014)



Figure 2.6: Manhattan's Skyscrapers.
(Url-7, Date retrieved: 18.03.2014)

Considering all natural components and data, well analyzing, preserving, strengthening and exposing the natural environment characteristics of the city conserve urban identity, make it stronger and provide better legibility and perception (Ocakçı, 2013).

2.3.1.2. Built environment

Built environment can be basically defined as man-made structures in cities. The elements based on the built environment are roads, buildings, squares, open spaces and urban furniture.

According to Kuban (2002), *roads* are the spaces reach to and link the structures (Şahin, 2010). Roads not only provide accessibility, but also serve as vital spaces of socialization (Deniz, 2004). The most effective factor bringing characteristics to the roads are *buildings*. They form a special sight with their properties of heights, façade dimensions, use of materials, roofs, colors and architectural styles (Kılınçaslan, 1995 cited in Deniz, 2004). Suher (1997) defines *squares* as areas surrounded by natural and built elements. Along with the physical features, social behavior, city culture and life-style are effective in formation of squares (Şahin, 2010). *Open spaces* are gaps between buildings such as car-parks, parks, gardens, those are formed either spontaneously or man-made (Deniz, 2004, Şahin, 2010). *Urban furniture* are small scale elements to provide functional, artistic or symbolic needs of citizens. They are used for illumination, access, guidance, security, communication, shopping, commercial, aesthetic, sitting-resting-watching, leisure, cleaning etc. purposes (Şahin, 2010). There exists a variety of urban furniture such as streetlights, street bins, phone booths, traffic signs, billboards, signboards, benches etc. All these elements shape the townscape and define the identity of a city.

Lynch (1960) classifies the physical forms of the city in five categories while defining the image of the city: paths, edges, districts, nodes and landmarks. *Paths* are described as the channels and they refer to streets, walkways, transit lines, canals, railroads. *Edges* are the linear elements other than paths, which are boundaries between two phases. They are barriers and seams like shores, railroad cuts, edges of development, walls, etc. *Districts* are larger areas in city, which are recognizable having a common and identifying character. *Nodes* are cores, strategic spots and concentration points. They can be junctions, places of a break in transportation, a crossing or convergence of paths, street-corners, enclosed squares etc. *Landmarks* are point-reference elements and they are mostly buildings, sign, stores or mountains (p.46-48).

According to Ocağcı and Southworth (1995), "in order to be considered as man-made elements of urban identity, the elements must be evaluated in terms of location, visual effect, meaning and usage" (p.3).

The location of the object provides a distinctive identity to a city when the object is located in accordance with city's natural features (Ocağcı, 2013). For instance, Rio de Janeiro is associated with the Statue of Christ the Redeemer, since it is located at the top of the mountain Corcovado, which has an altitude of 700 meters and the height of the statue is 30 meters.



Figure 2.7: The Statue of Christ the Redeemer in Rio de Janeiro.
(Url-8, Date retrieved on 13.04.2014)

Visual effect is related to the texture, color, material, form, structure, proportion, scale, dimension, symbolic characteristics. Visual effect is significant in determining the identity of a city. For example, the grid road scheme with diagonals, and buildings and squares formed of scheme brings a unique identity to the city of Barcelona.



Figure 2.8: Barcelona, Eixample's Grid Pattern Urban System.
(Url-9, Date retrieved : 27.03.2014)

The meaning of the object is identified with the emotional and historical context of the city and society. An object, which has a meaning in shared memory constituted in the historical development of the city, creates a distinction from other objects (Ocakçı, 2013). Although it is rebuilt, the Library of Alexandria has a meaning in shared memory of society and is an identity element of Alexandria.



Figure 2.9: The New Library of Alexandria.
(Url-10, Date retrieved: 27.03.2014)

Usage implies the functional properties of the structures such as religious, administrative, governmental, transportation etc. The opera house in Sydney is the most remarkable identity element of the city.



Figure 2.10: Sydney Opera House.
(Url-11, Date retrieved : 27.03.2014)

Built environment illustrates the information, technology, values and culture of a society and a time period (Keleş and Harmancı 1993 cited in Ilgar 2008). Lozano also describes the physical form as the cultural expression of the society and points the interaction between physical and social structure (Lozano cited in Arbak 2005).

2.3.1.3. Social environment

According to Güvenç, “the one that has the identity is not the urban space, but the people who live within” (Arbak, 2005). However, it is not only the existence of a group of people in a certain urban space. It is also the feeling of belonging to the space what makes the identity powerful. According to Ocakçı, the notion of belonging can be defined with (1) meaning, (2) area of dominance and (3) privacy. A person feels belonged to a place if s/he can attribute a meaning to a place; if s/he can constitute an area of dominance where s/he feels safe and pleased; and if s/he can have a privacy where personal and social distances are in control, which is interrelated with area of dominance (2013).

Ocakçı and Southworth classify social environment elements in three parts: demographic, institutional and cultural factors (1995).

Demographic factors are size of population, density of population, rate of increase in population, distribution of age groups, ratio of woman and man, and also characteristics related to economic structure and education of the population (Ocakçı,

2013). These factors are effective in shaping identity of cities. For example in Tokyo, as size and density of population are high, density of buildings are high and vertical development is seen. Thus, the city is identified with dense and high rise city structure as well as flats in small sizes.



Figure 2.11: Tokyo City Scape.
(Url-12, Date retrieved : 10.06.2014)

Institutional factors are related to the institutional structure of a country including politic structure, regime, legal system, economic structure, level of technology, religion, education, health and other social services (Ocakçı, 2013). These factors, like all other components of identity, have an effect in urban space. For instance, the Palace of Parliament in Bucharest was built under Ceaușescu Regime, when the Socialist Republic of Romania was a single party socialist state. Being the world's largest and most expensive administrative building, it is the most dominant identity feature of the city.



Figure 2.12: The Palace of Parliament in Bucharest.
(Url-13, Date retrieved : 13.04.2014)

Cultural factors are characteristics of inhabitants of a city such as language, religion, ethnicity, family structure, food customs, folklore, music etc. (Ocakçı, 1995; Ocakçı, 2013). Cultural factors are representations of life-style and they contribute a lot to the identity of the cities. Take food customs for instance, although Rome has a very strong identity with its built environment, the role of Rome's ice-cream cannot be underestimated in the sense of urban identity.

2.3.2. Loss of urban identity

Due to the trends of globalization, mass production and technological developments, standardization and homogenization have occurred in today's cities. However, as Robins claims, the more cities become similar, the more urban identity weakens (as cited in Postalçı et al., 2006). Relph gives an explanation to the issue with the term placelessness by defining it as "casual eradication of distinctive places" and "the making of standardized landscapes" (as cited in Carmona and Tiesdell, 2007).

Urban identity is becoming one of the major problems in cities. The problem is that cities either losing their identities or cannot produce identities. Disidentification problem has an effect on economic, physical and cultural dimensions. It has also a social dimension, as the citizens that get alienated from the city can feel a lack of belonging (as Can cited in İlgar, 2008).

There is a common misunderstanding in loss of urban identity. A city with an urban identity is defined with experiencing its unique characters. On the contrary, having

no urban identity is used for ordinary cities which have no distinguishable characteristics. However, there is no city without identity; every city has an identity. Man-made environment in cities may be similar, but natural features and social structure can never be the same. The issue is instead about having a strong or weak identity. While strong identity is more recognizable, a weak identity is related to losing positive features and having more negative features. Weak identity can also be defined as having a negative urban identity or identity crisis (Ocakçı, 2013).

As urban identity has an effect on all economic, physical and cultural elements, relationship between its inhabitants and the city itself is directly related to it. If identity is weak, inhabitant evaluates the city as a place in which various activities are held. Nevertheless, if identity is strong, inhabitants interrelate with the city, urban spaces become more meaningful for the inhabitants and as an outcome the city gain more properties (as Bingül in İlgar, 2008).

2.4. Place and Construction of National Identity

2.4.1. Place, memory and identity construction

Memory is the faculty by which the mind stores and remembers information (Url-14, date retrieved: 03.02.2014). Keeping memory is an act of remembering and recalling the information and experience that is happened in the past. "Memory is an individuals' characteristic; societies cannot "own" memories but can determine the memory of the individuals." (Assmann as cited in Postalçı et al., 2006). As places are objects which are shaped in relation to the information that has stored in memory (Asiliskender, 2006), intervention on place directly affects the memory of individuals and corresponding societies. Urban interventions are one of the most powerful tools in determining the collective memory, because built environment is the most tangible element in terms of identification. Thus, while construction of a new place or an architectural element can create new symbols embodied in memories and reinforce identities; destruction of a place prevents the recalling of shared memories and damages identities.

As an outcome of ultra-nationalist or fascist politics, examples of systematic cultural destruction are seen in numerous cases. The regimes with the intention of ethnic cleansing such in Hitler's, Stalin's, Mao's and Pol Pot's, targeted architecture and

cultural heritage to erase memory and identity. Destruction or decay of the cultural heritage, which is a representation of a group identity, means destruction of the group's past as well as its future (Dowell, 2008). As the loss of collective memory occurs in case of major physical or social change of environment (Postalci et al., 2006). Moreover, once the old identity is erased, new identity can be constructed yet again using place as a tool. The power of place in construction of identity is both due to its trait of being a physical reflection of identity and its effectiveness in shaping society. Designing a place can help erasing or neglecting the things that are desired to be forgotten, or, highlight and reinforce the recollection of the things that are desired to be remembered.

2.4.2. Case studies on place and construction of national identity

In this section, construction of national identity is investigated through case studies held in previous researches. Two abroad cases, Thessaloniki and Mostar, and one domestic case, Kayseri, are reviewed in order to highlight the significance of place in construction of identity.

2.4.2.1. A new plan for Thessaloniki

Vilma Hastaoglou-Martinidis in her paper "Urban aesthetics and national identity: the refashioning of Eastern Mediterranean cities between 1900 and 1940", evaluates planning actions in Eastern Mediterranean cities in early 20th century. As a type of European nation-state city, she studies Thessaloniki as a case.

Martinidis first explains that Thessaloniki was a major port city of the Ottoman Empire and it was known as Jerusalem of the Balkans due to the Jewish population in the city. Greece captures Thessaloniki in 1912, after the Balkan Wars. In 1917, a fire destroys historic center of the city, where Jewish population was settled (Hastaoglou-Martinidis, 2011) (see Figure 2.13).



Figure 2.13: Burned-up zone in Thessaloniki in 1917.
(Hastaoglou-Martinidis, 2011)

After the fire, the Greek government refused to rebuild the city by means of old layout and land use, but decided to build a modern city by referring their Hellenistic roots. This nationalist intention was because Greek elements were lacking before the arrival of Rum population from Anatolia in 1923. Thus the commission for urban planning of Thessaloniki was set up, which was headed by French Ernest Hebrard. Hebrard's approach towards planning was on building modern cities in foreign countries implying French culture, but for planning of Thessaloniki he also studied Roman and Byzantine monuments of the city. The planning model of the city was supplying the demands of a modern nation state, with principles "visual harmony, rational organization of space and industrial development, in a perfectly coordinated system, whose implementation presupposes a powerful authority capable of overriding individualistic economic interests on urban land (Hastaoglou-Martinidis, 2011, p. 163)."

In order to implement the plan, a law was enacted in 1918, which was allowing the distribution of properties in favour of the land owners' team, and the clearance of the new plots in auctions. This caused territorial erasure of Jewish community's presence in historic center. The new plan, in which pre-existed organic urban pattern was neglected, was an adoption of classical Beaux-Arts layout in a sophisticated

composition. It was highlighting grid pattern of the Hellenistic Thessaloniki with rectilinear street network and regular blocks. The new plan was not preserving old sections of the city and erasing Ottoman context (Hastaoglu-Martinidis, 2011).

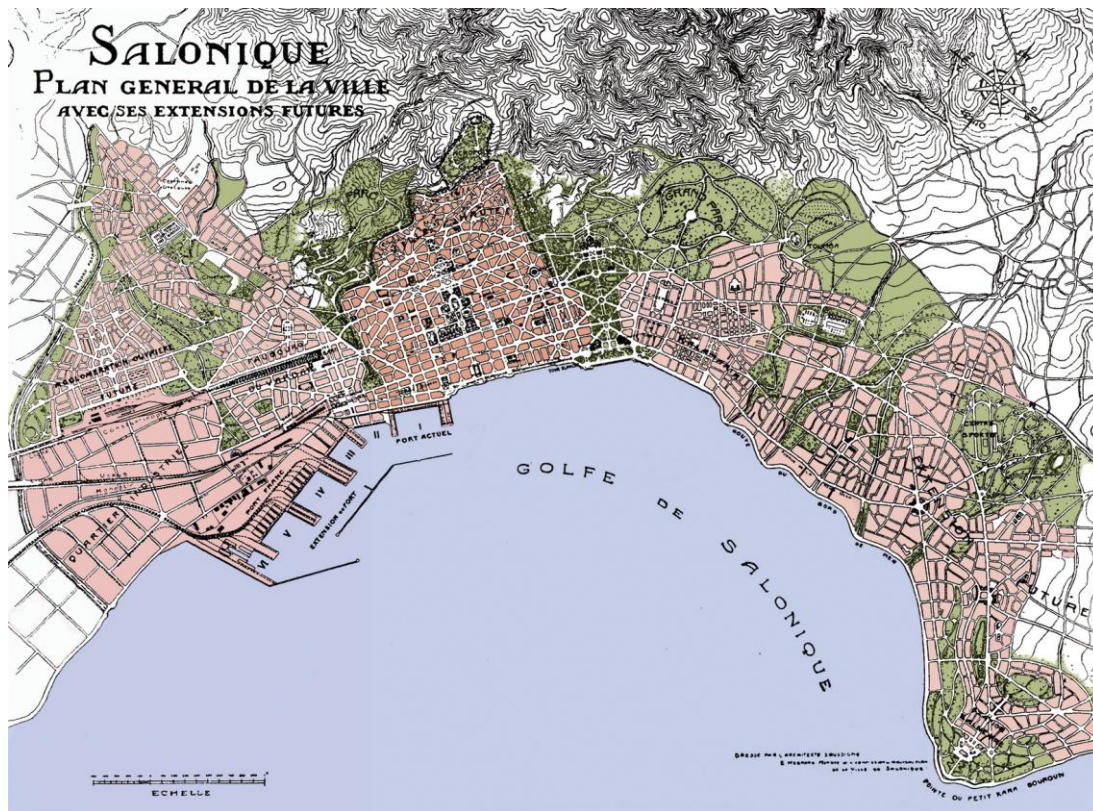


Figure 2.14: Hebrart's Plan for Thessaloniki in 1918.
(Hastaoglu-Martinidis, 2011)

Martinidis concludes that the tendency for preparing new plans in Eastern Mediterranean was a result of nation-state policies with the influence of European states. In order to build a nationally pertinent urban form, modern aesthetic features were used as a tool and the objective was to rupture the past, which represents existence of others, and promote a new national unified urban physiognomy (Hastaoglu-Martinidis, 2011).

2.4.2.2. Mostar and its bridge

Carl Grodach analyzes the importance of built environment in reinforcing and reinventing group identity over the case Mostar in his article "Reconstituting identity and history in post-war Mostar, Bosnia-Herzegovina". He begins with an explanation of significant geopolitical position of Mostar in Balkans. The Balkans are treated as a site of bridge between cultures and religions, and at the same time, a region of conflict between these cultures and religions. It is a transition point between East and

West, Ottoman and Europe, and Islam and Christianity. The cultural dilemmas resulted with the outbreak of Yugoslavian Wars in 1991. During the Bosnian War, which is a part of Yugoslavian Wars, the city Mostar became a strategic site, due to its pluralized population and its central position between Dubrovnik and Sarajevo. Before the war, the city's population was comprised of one-third Muslims mostly living in the city, one-third Croats living in the surrounded villages, and one-fifth Serbians, who were displaced during the war (Grodach, 2002).



Figure 2.15: Map of Bosnia and Herzegovina.
(Grodach, 2002)

There was another factor for Mostar having a pivotal role in the war, which was its architectural heritage. As being a land of Ottoman Empire and Austro-Hungarian Empire, the city has inherited a large amount of historical and cultural elements. The built environment of the city, the most tangible element of the inherited culture, has been destroyed during the war. However, after the war the reconstruction of the destroyed areas and the social identity, provided an opportunity to re-evaluate the meaning of these places and also an opportunity to building a new identity. Especially Mostar's historic center *Stari Grad* and its historic Ottoman bridge *Stari Most* have played a major role in building new identity (Grodach, 2002).

Post-war reconstruction of the city was focused on the bridge *Stari Most*, which was built in 1566 as a symbol of Ottoman engineering and authority, and destroyed in 1993 by Bosnian Croat military. A belief characterized the war as an "ethnic cleansing" and an outcome of "ancient hatreds". Although Bosnian villages had also suffered from the effects of the war, there is a point of view suggesting that the war was an outcome of urban-rural dichotomy and a revenge of countryside. Prior to the war, Bosnian Croats were living in rural areas and Muslims were in urban centers. Thus, the conflicts between rural and urban, traditional and modern, ignorant and cultured as well as Christian and Muslim were resulted with the destruction of urban centers such as Mostar. Both of these theses were rejected, as the new representation of the bridge pointed out diversity after its reconstitution. Thus the reconstitution was not only constituting physically, but also attributing a new meaning to the bridge through construction of new Bosnian identity, which bridges cultural difference and negotiates peace. Grodach states that "In post-war Mostar, Stari Most was transformed from an outstanding relic of Ottoman architecture and engineering and symbol of local and national pride to representing a bridge between cultures." He further explains that in addition to social and ethnic-national identity, economic and touristic activities were also affected by the reconstruction of the bridge.



Figure 2.16: Mostar Bridge Before and After the War.
(Grodach, 2002)

Grodach concludes his article pointing out the significance of reconstituting Mostar's built environment on constructing the Bosnian social identity. He declares that

The city's historic Ottoman architecture and urban fabric has become the basis for (1) revitalizing the local economy through tourism, (2) mending differences and diffusing ethnic tension, and (3) helping improve the image of the Balkans as 'backward' and as a place where ethnic conflict is a way of life. (Grodach, 2002, p.80)

2.4.2.3. Kayseri old city center

Burak Asiliskender analyzes physical change in the old city center of Kayseri based on political shifts after the foundation of Turkish Republic in his paper "Spatial and Identical Transformation Experience in the Old City Centre of Kayseri After the Foundation of Turkish Republic." He states that after the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire, a search for a new identity became obligatory for inhabitants of Anatolia. Foundation of Turkish Republic was a substantial revolution targeting to nationalize the societies, those live within the boundaries of the state with Turkish identity and catching the social and economic developments of the era. Within this scope, in an attempt to build a new political order, *Ottoman* was declared as traditional and marginalized. With the intention of modernization, new factories and housing for their workers were built in Anatolian cities. According to Bozdoğan, modern architecture was a tangible symbol of modern and laic nation, which was Westernized and disconnected from its Ottoman and Islamic past (as cited in Asiliskender, 2006).

Kayseri has been one of the first cities to start modernization movement. In 1927 with the collaboration of Germans, an airplane factory, later a power unit, a railroad, and in 1935 Sümerbank Kayseri Cotton Factory were established, which led to a vast change in the spatial organization of the city. The content of modern life was taught to citizens of Kayseri and its surrounding especially with the Sümerbank Campus. The spatial revolutions of Early Republic Period have marginalized old city centers as being *traditional* opposed to *modern*. Against to Sümerbank Residences, the traditional old city center, where Armenians, Rums and Muslims were living together, was excluded. Sümerbank Residences, which are contrary to old stone buildings, became a symbol of contemporary life, comfort and peace for people (Asiliskender, 2006).

Another factor in the marginalization of the old center was the existence of Armenian and Rum minorities. With the foundation of Turkish Republic as a nation-state, Armenian and Rum minorities became the *other*. Although the aim of the national order was to unite societies under Turkish identity by the foundation of Turkish Republic, in time, this aim converted into disintegration of societies, as *one identity* neglects ethnic and religious diversities. In 1942, Varlık Vergisi (Wealth Tax) has also triggered the segregation of social identities as a political segregation applied by

the government. During this period, non-Muslim businessmen had to sell their properties to countrymen in order to pay high taxes. As a result, traditional and second hand, minority housing became more and more excluded compared to modern Sümerbank Cotton Factory and Its Housing (Asiliskender, 2006).

Wealth Tax caused a dissolution in the multiple structure of national identity. This situation led up to a change in government. After Democratic Party (DP) had made use of this advantage to collect the votes of minorities and grabbed the power, the party chose to follow a nationalist propaganda in governing. Ultranationalist politics of the party led to 6-7 September events in 1955. Moreover, the party held a radical reconstruction policy in the country as well as in Kayseri. In this period, a large street has opened in the old center after the destruction of a big church and a large amount of housing was supplied as places of *others*. In addition to marginalization of these places, the construction of new housing areas resulted with the relocation of old center's residents (Asiliskender, 2006).

After 1980, due to the development of industry in the city, the emptied old center was settled by migrants from the east. Thus, in time the area has become a place of another type of minority. In 1994, local administration of Welfare Party (Refah Partisi), with the intention to revive Ottoman/Islamic identity, aimed to revitalize local identities, which were suppressed because of Westernization and modernization approach. Generally between 1970 and 2000, the center was labeled, excluded and emptied as being a non-Muslim settlement. A large amount of buildings were destroyed and replaced by car-parks, high-rise buildings and bus terminals, although they were registered buildings. Furthermore, as locals left the area, the place underwent an urban decay and became unsafe as it was occupied by new residents dealing with illegal activities. In 1990s, the municipality had some interventions to make the area safer such as opening new and large streets. However, it resulted with physical segregation from its environment and again a social exclusion of the area, which is a cultural heritage of *strangers*. Now there is a need for regenerating the area, but the real purpose is not utilizing the cultural heritage, but reusing the land and having rent (Asiliskender, 2006).



Figure 2.17: Emptied Housing in Kayseri City Center.
(Asiliskender, 2006)

It is noticed in Kayseri case that the construction of a new identity-project identity after the foundation of the republic is also realized by using built environment as a tool. On one hand, construction is held by building new modern factories, housing units and large roads; on the other hand the new *modern* and *national* identity is reinforced by destructing and discrediting *traditional* and *other/stranger*.

2.5. Conclusion of the Chapter

In this chapter concepts of identity, construction of identity, urban identity, and place and construction of national identity are evaluated in terms of providing input for the case study to verify the hypothesis.

Identity is defined with all characteristics of someone or something that distinguishes that person or thing from others. Although it signifies *differences*, it is paradoxical that it is originated from Latin word "idem", which means "the same". Therefore, it is described as the persistent *sameness* which makes differentiation from the others. The conflict inside the word itself has made it to be the subject of various fields. Focused on human, psychologist and sociologists define self-identity and social identity. While self-identity is finding answer to "Who am I?", social identity is a collection of groups who define themselves in the same category. Social identity varies based on age, gender, ethnicity, vocation etc. Among all social identities, national identity became more appealing after the French Revolution and formation of nation-states, which developed as a problem later. Fall of Berlin War, dissolution of Soviet Union and Yugoslavia highlighted national identity issue as a problem.

Focused on the problem, formation of identities is investigated by Castells. He has a theory on construction of identity, where he defines forms of identity building as *legitimizing identity*, *resistance identity* and *project identity*. By legitimizing identity,

he refers to attempts of dominant power in society to rationalize and reinforce its dominion. Resistance identity is constructed through the reaction of devalued groups against power and oppression. Lastly, project identity is construction of a new identity taking cultural materials as a base. In this sense, national identity is constructed via policies on education, history and economic & social as a legitimizing or a project identity.

Another field of study on identity, urban identity is considered as a representation of social identities. Urban identity is what makes a city unique and differentiates it from the others. According to Ocakçı, its components can be evaluated under three sections: natural environment, built environment, social environment. Natural environment consists of elements related to geographical position, topography, climate, water features, soil structure, flora and geologic structure. Built environment elements are evaluated in terms of location, visibility, meaning and usage. Social environment is constituted on demographic, institutional and cultural factors. Lynch also describes the physical identity of the city with paths, edges, districts, nodes and landmarks. Whereas uniqueness of these components defines a strong urban identity, loss of urban identity is described with having a weak identity, in which negative factors are more than positive factors.

Place as a tangible reflection of social identity is an important tool in identity construction. Places are built in relation to the memories stored. Thus, destruction of a place damages collective memory and is an act against cultural identity. In the same sense, construction of a place creates a memory and changes perception. Therefore, intervention on place becomes a method in identity construction via erasing things to forget and emphasizing things to remember. Examples of the method are seen mostly in 20th century. Destruction of cultural heritage in wars, defaming and letting to urban decay devalued groups' environments, and building or reconstituting new urban quarters by attributing a meaning are ways of constructing identity through a place.

3. CASE STUDY: FROM TATAVLA TO KURTULUŞ

3.1. Study Area

3.1.1. Location

Tatavla lies inside the borders of Şişli and Beyoğlu Provinces. The settlement is on the upper part of Kasımpaşa, the district which lies on the north of Golden Horn. The area cannot be defined with borders, because in official records there is no neighborhood named as Kurtuluş. However, it is so called Kurtuluş because of the main street, Kurtuluş Street. Therefore, the boundaries of Kurtuluş changes according to perceptions of people.



Figure 3.1: Location of Kurtuluş.
(Source: Demiroğlu and Erin, 2013)

The district has a connection to E-5 Highway from Son Durak Square through southeast. It has a connection to Taksim, Osmanbey and Nişantaşı at the north. The main axis in the settlement is the Kurtuluş Street.

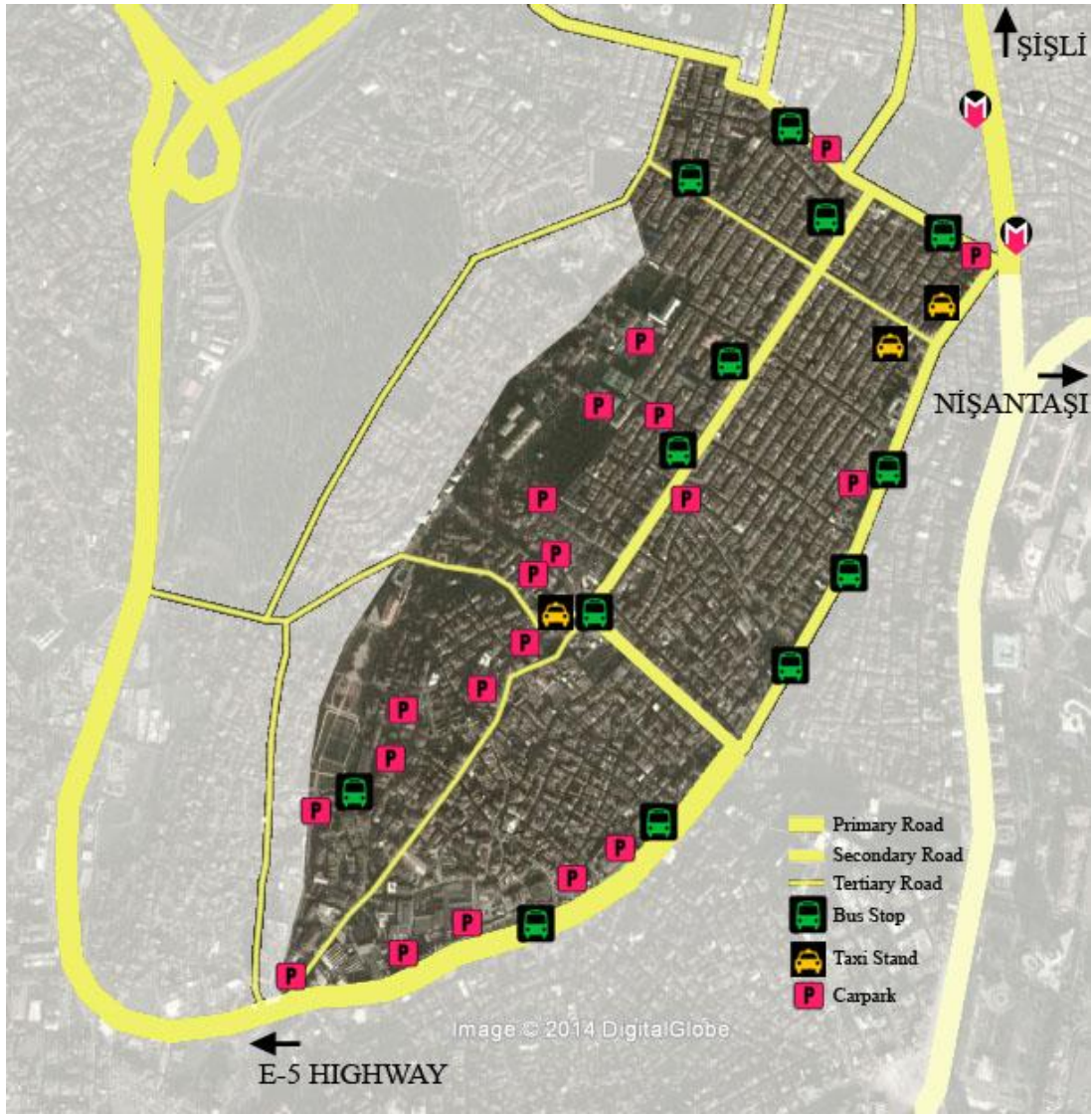


Figure 3.2: Circulation Analysis.

In this study, the area is examined in three scales. (1) In the upper scale, the neighborhoods surrounding Kurtuluş Street, Duatepe, Feriköy, Yayla, Bozkurt and Eskişehir in Şişli, Hacıahmet and Yenişehir in Beyoğlu, are studied. (2) In the middle scale, the area around the street is studied. (3) In the subscale, it is focused on the so called Kurtuluş Son Durak² area, which contains the end point of Kurtuluş Street and its surrounding.

3.1.2. Urban development

In historical texts about Constantinople written by Europeans, Kurtuluş is called as Ayios Dimitrios, due to the existence of the church named Ayios Dimitrios. It is supposed that the church's construction dates back to 1576. According to Vizandios,

² Son Durak means Last Stop in English. It is called "Kurtuluş Son Durak" because the last stop of the buses is located here.

even though Europeans called the neighborhood Ayios Dimitrios, Genoises in Galata named it Tatavla (Stavli, Stabulum) which means barn, because their horse barns were located here (Hristodulu, 2013).

There are no findings about settlement in Tatavla in Byzantium. It is assumed that the first settlement in Tatavla had emerged around 1500s in the period of Suleiman the Magnificent (Hristodulu, 2013). It is the first settlement in Şişli province. The first residents of the settlement were over 10,000 pows and slaves, who were brought from Aegean, Mediterranean and Ioania islands by Barbaros Hayreddin and Piyale Pashas to work in Kasımpaşa shipyard between 1530-1566. Although at first those pows and slaves were living around the shipyard, later they had settled in this area, which was located outside the Constantinople. The pows and slaves had gotten married with Rum women living in Istanbul. Also tradesmen from Chios had moved to Tatavla. Other than that, there were many Rums, who preferred to live here, because it was under the protection of Kaptan-ı Derya (Chief Admiral) (Türker, 1998).

Towards the end of 18th century, the population of Tatavla was around 20,000 and all residents were Christian Orthodox Rums. In 1793 with the great demand of Rums, it was forbidden for people from other nations to settle in Tatavla. However, later Armenians and Jews began to settle in Tatavla. In 1802, due to the commercial relationships of Ottoman Empire and British Government, a couple of British families were placed here with the suggestion of the British Government (Şişli Municipality, 2010). In 1821, the protection of the chief admiral had an end, because of the outburst of the Greek independency movement and worsening in Ottoman-Greek relationships (Türker, 1998).

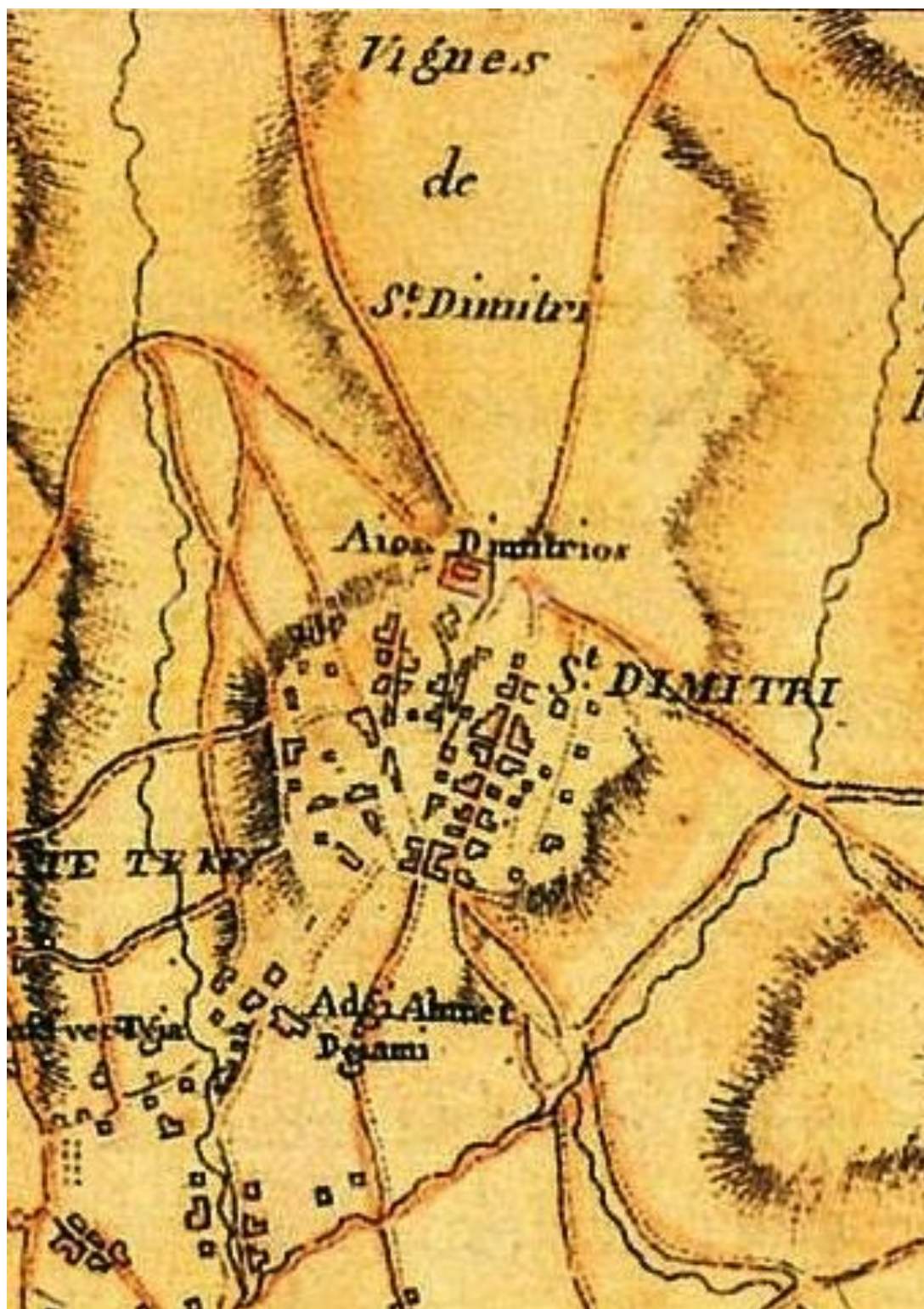


Figure 3.3: Map of Kauffer in 1786.

In 1830, 500 dwellings and 30 shops were destroyed because of the fire. In the second half of the 19th century, a part of the community of the people from Chios built their own neighborhood in the north of Ayios Dimitrios. In time, the population increased with those coming from other parts of the city and the neighborhood spread towards north and west (Hristodulu, 2013).



Figure 3.4: Map of Hellert in 1840.

The first years of 20th century were most productive and independent years of the neighborhood, it was the time when Tatavla got famous. At the beginning of the century, there were churches, schools, cemeteries, associations, a sports club, a bath, and a theater in Tatavla. In 1911, a horse-driven tram, which was later in 1914 converted into electric tram, was constructed between Tünel and Tatavla passing through Tatavla Street. This tram line was on service until 1961 and affected the development of Kurtuluş Street with rising of apartments, in which high income Rum families were settled. Because the houses were attached and made of wood, the area was vulnerable to fires. Fires broke out in 1905, 1907, 1909 and 1912. Lastly, the fire in the year 1929 was a vast disaster for the settlement, in which 202 housing, 17 stories and a pharmacy were destroyed. Tatavla's name has changed right after the fire and became Kurtuluş (Salvation) (Türker, 1998).



Figure 3.5: Pervitich Map in 1925.

In 1930s, 1940s and 1950s, the residents of Kurtuluş were mostly Rum families, but other minority groups and Turks as well. After 6-7 September incidents of 1955 and 1964 Rum deportation to Greece, the population of Rums decreased dramatically. In 1970s, 1980s and 1990s, the new residents of the settlement were the immigrants from Anatolia. In addition to the change in social structure, the buildings were replaced by multi-storey apartments (Türker, 1998).

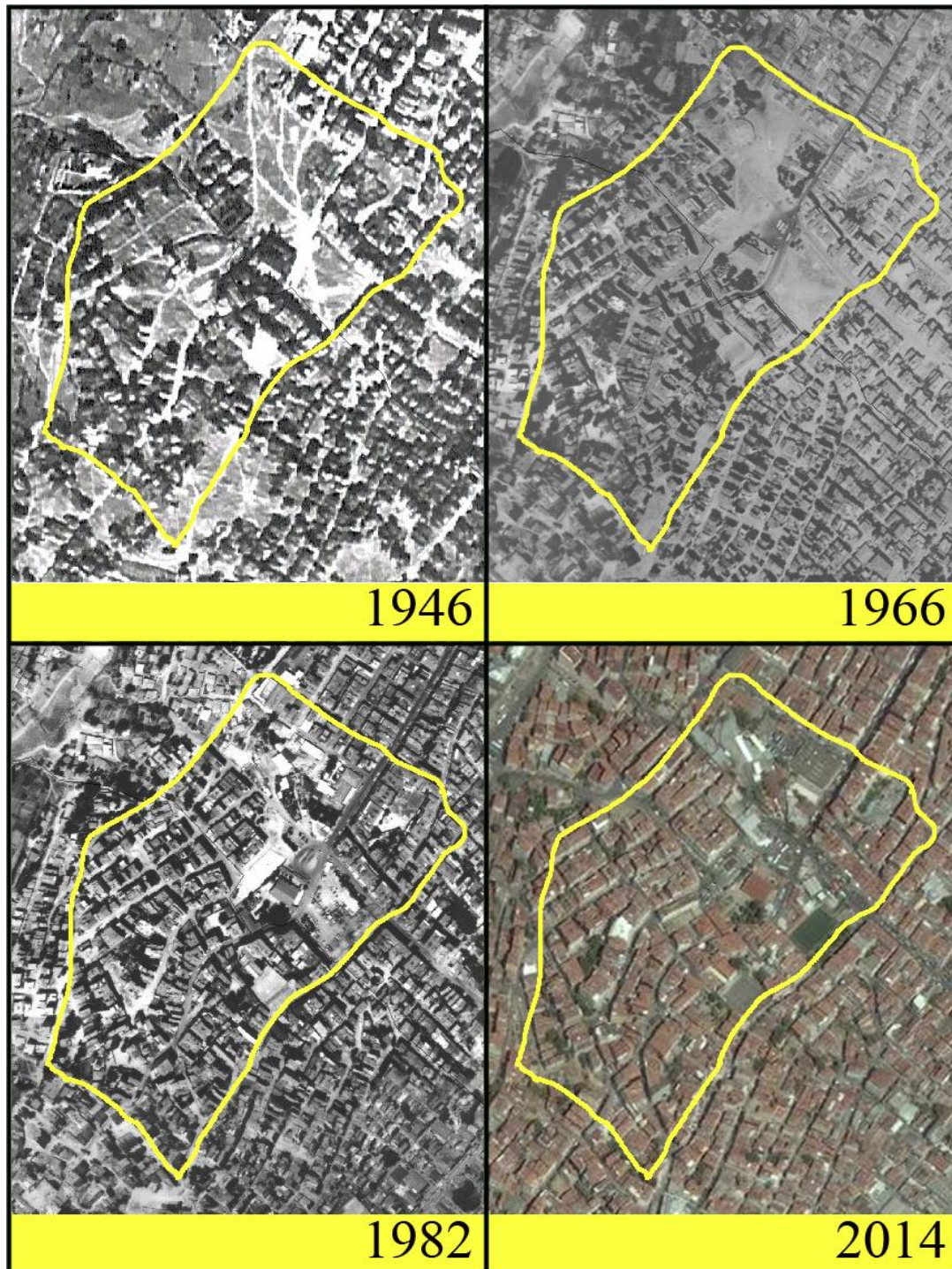


Figure 3.6: Development of the site after 1946

3.1.3. Political history

The chronology of important incidents that affected Turkish and Rum relationships, collected and edited from Akgonul's book³ and Babil Association⁴ are listed below.

1821-1832 Greek War of Independence

1912-1913 Balkan Wars

1914-1918 World War I

1919-1922 Turkish War of Independence

1920-1922 Turk-Greek War

1923 In 1923 the convention concerning the exchange of Greek and Turkish populations was signed at Lausanne by the governments of Greece and Turkey. According to the convention, Muslim Turks in Greece and Orthodox Rums in Greece were exchanged. The Rum population in Istanbul and in Aegean Island Imbros (Gökçeada) were exempt of the exchange. Approximately 1.5 million Anatolian Greeks and 500,000 Muslims in Greece were relocated.

1926 The obligation of speaking and writing in Turkish in all international corporations was imposed.

1932 A number of professions were forbidden to non-Muslims. This affected particularly the artisans, craftsmen, street vendors or self-employed that were holding a Greek citizenship.

1938 The education institutions of the minorities were enforced to hold their lectures in Turkish.

1941 The citizens of minorities were taken to military to carry out their military service in designated units.

The non-Muslim males aged between 20-40 were signed up to the military to serve in units designated for them. They were assigned

³ Samim Akgönül's book: Türkiye Rumları: Ulus-Devlet Çağından Küreselleşme Çağına Bir Azınlığın Yok Oluş Süreci (Rums in Turkey: From Nation-State Era to Globalization Era Annihilation Process of a Minority Group)

⁴ Babil (Bağımsız Araştırma Bilgi ve İletişim Derneği - Association of Independent Research, Information and Communication)

public duties such as working in the construction of the Ankara Gençlik Park.

1942 Varlık Vergisi (Wealth Tax)

This new tax law targeted the non-Muslims, particularly those who were involved in trade businesses. The law aimed at weakening the non-Muslim business people economically. Many of them had to sell their assets to be able to pay their debt.

1954 The Turkish media initiated black propaganda against the Rums.

1955 The 6-7 September events took place, which was an organized mob attack directed to Rum minority in Istanbul. The initiation of the events was related to false news about the bombing of Atatürk's house in Thessaloniki by Greeks. Also black propaganda of the Turkish media, highlighting the pressures on Turkish Cypriots by Greeks and claiming Rum minorities helps for Cypriot Greek guerillas, triggered the events.

1958 The "Istanbul Greeks Association" was shut down with a court decision stating that the association was conducting activities against the government.

1960 Turkish Coup d'état

1964 Media campaigns were initiated against the Greeks and Rums.

The Turkish government cancelled the "Ticaret-Ikamiyet ve Seyrisefain" (trade, residence and navigation) agreement, which was in place since 1930.

The bank accounts of the Rums that were holding a Greek citizenship were blocked.

The Rums that were holding a Greek citizenship were exiled (Akgönül cited in Babil, 2014).

1971 Closure of Theological School of Halki (Heybeliada)

Turkish Coup d'état

1974 Cyprus Operation

1980 Turkish Coup d'état

1988	Decision of refunding blocked Rum properties to their owners
1996	Attack to Aya Lefter Rum Orthodox Cemetery
2002	Theoretical Improvement in status of non-Muslim foundations via third EU Reform Package
	Regulation of Directorate General of Foundations that makes difficult non-Muslim foundations to own properties

3.2. Identity of Tatavla/Kurtuluş

3.2.1. Natural environment

3.2.1.1. Geographical position

The settlement lies at the north of Golden Horn facing the Historical Peninsula. It is located on the top of the Kurtuluş Hill between two hills, the Taksim and Okmeydanı hills, and two valleys (see Figure 3.7).

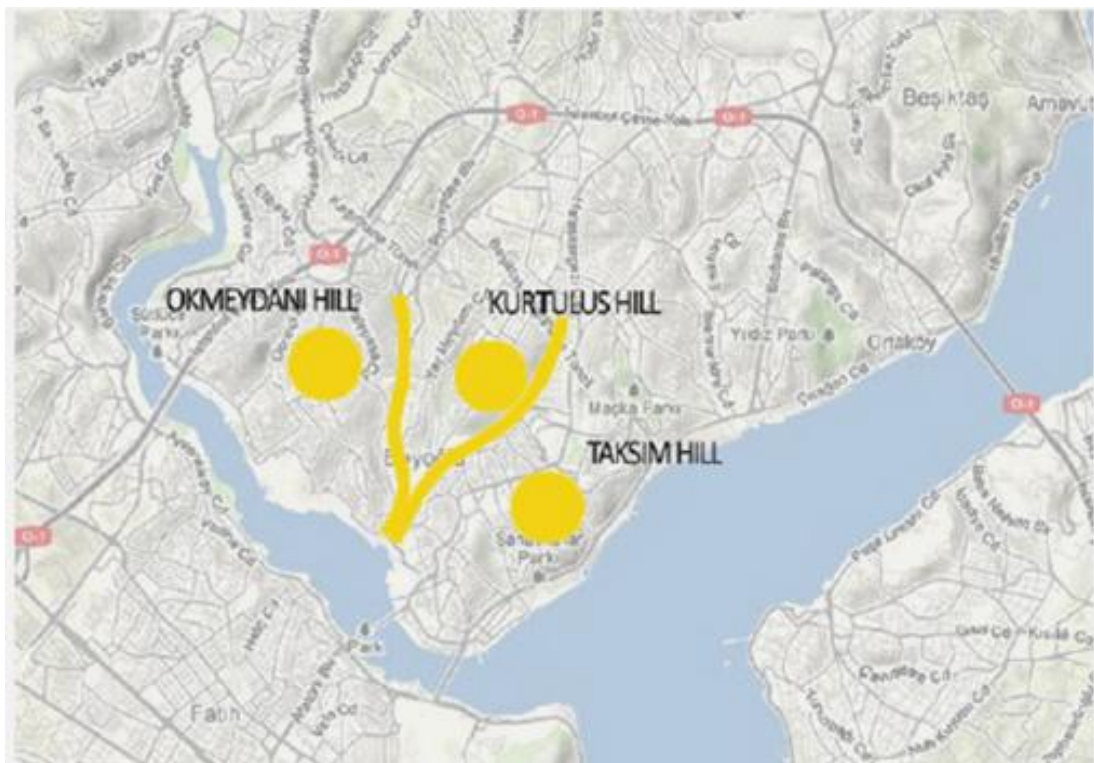


Figure 3.7: Location of Kurtuluş Hill.
(Source: Demiroğlu and Erin, 2013)

3.2.1.2. Topography

Kurtuluş Street, which serves as a spine of the settlement, is located on the ridge of the Kurtuluş Hill and has a gentle slope from north to south. From the Kurtuluş Street to the valleys in both east and west sides of the ridge, the settlement lies on the slopes with steep axis.

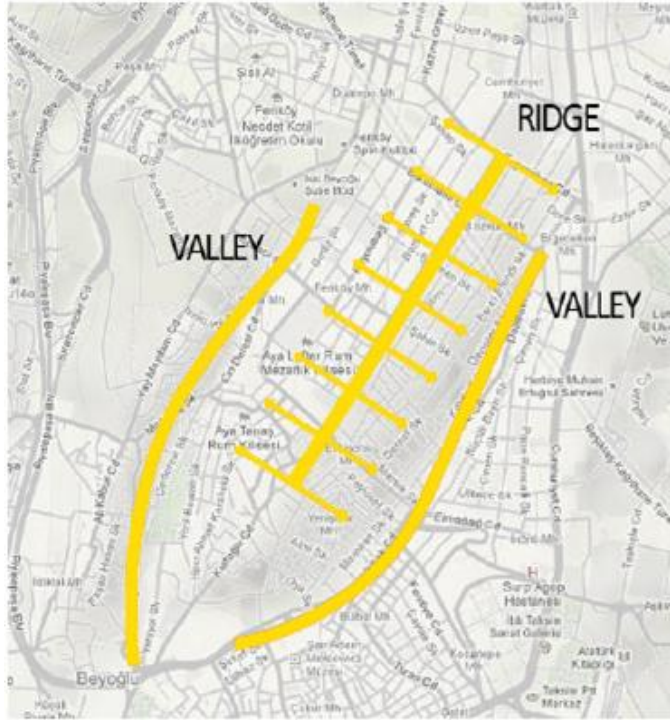


Figure 3.8: Topography of Kurtuluş.
(Source: Demiroğlu and Erin, 2013)

In 1913 Hristodulu explains that there lies the Bilecik River in the east of Tatavla. Bilecik River starts as Dolap River from the west of Pangalti, and then its name changes on every neighborhood it flows through. Respectively, it becomes Dolap River, Bilecik River, Papaz Bridge and Kasimpasa River. On the west of Tatavla there lies Cindere, which starts from Ferikoy, flows to the south of Kutsal Havariler Kilisesi (Holy/Saint Apostles Church) where it joins the Kasim Pasa River. In the north of Tatavla lies the Kaya River, and in its north lies the Kasim Pasa River. A water resource, Karlík, exists on right shore of Cindere, which was 60m further in the west of Ayios Athanasios. The water of Karlík is described as affluently healing with various minerals inside. Also, in the east, there were two more water resources one in Sinemköy, and one in İkinci Bilezikdere (Hristodulu, 2013). Today it is seen that none of these rivers and resources exist.

3.2.1.3. Climate

According to Skarlatos and Vizandios, the beautiful, sunny and breezy Tatavla hill is famous with its peaceful and healing air. Therefore, residing in Kurtuluş is often suggested by the experts and people who have experienced the healing air of Tatavla to those who suffer from frailty or illnesses (Hristodulu, 2013).

Today, due to the heavy traffic, the air of Kurtuluş is highly polluted. Thus, it is not peaceful and healing, but instead harmful to both the environment and health. The areas where high rise buildings stand are not quite sunny. Thanks to the large unbuilt space, it is still sunny at the square, where the last stop exists, however, the sun is sweltering due to the concretization and lack of green areas.

3.2.1.4. Flora

The area is built very densely, due to increase in population and in demand, to the point that a very small number of vegetation has left in the area. Thanks to the existence of Aya Lefter Rum Orthodox, Kara Hasan and Bulgarian Orthodox cemeteries, there are three relatively large green areas. Aside from a few small parks, there is Cindere Park covering a large area, as it is located on drainage (see Figure 3.9).

Interviewees claim that before 1980s, in addition to the gardens of single family houses, there were vegetable gardens on the location of Cindere Park and the area in the northwest of Ayios Dimitrios Church.



Figure 3.9: Green Areas in the Settlement.

3.2.2. Built environment

Figure 3.10 shows Lynch's method applied to Kurtuluş to get the image of the settlement. Edges of the area are at the two ends of Kurtuluş Street. One is in the north, the wall of the Latin Cemetery. The other is the road passing through the Kurtuluş Son Durak Square, the bus station and the taxi stand in the square. Paths are the primary and secondary roads. The primary road in the settlement is Kurtuluş Street and secondary roads are as seen in the Figure 3.10. The district mostly consists of housing areas, also there is a slum area in the southwest. In addition to slum area, there are some areas occupied by shanty buildings in use of services such as cafes and tea gardens. Commercial use is by the two sides of Kurtuluş Street and it continues along the same route until it reaches Kurtuluş Public Bath (Hamam). Educational areas are where Kurtuluş High School, Kurtuluş Primary School and Kurtuluş Rum Primary School exist. Ayios Dimitrios Church covers a large area in Kurtuluş Son Durak. Also there are some sports areas at the south, one is used by Kurtuluş Sports Club and the other is next to shanty service buildings. The primary node in the area is the square of Kurtuluş Son Durak. Secondary nodes are Sefa Square in the south and junction of Kurtuluş Street with Ergenekon Street in the north. The primary landmark of the area is the oldest building of Kurtuluş, Ayios Dimitrios Church. Secondary landmarks are high school, Rum primary school, public bath and the well-known tavern Despina's Place.

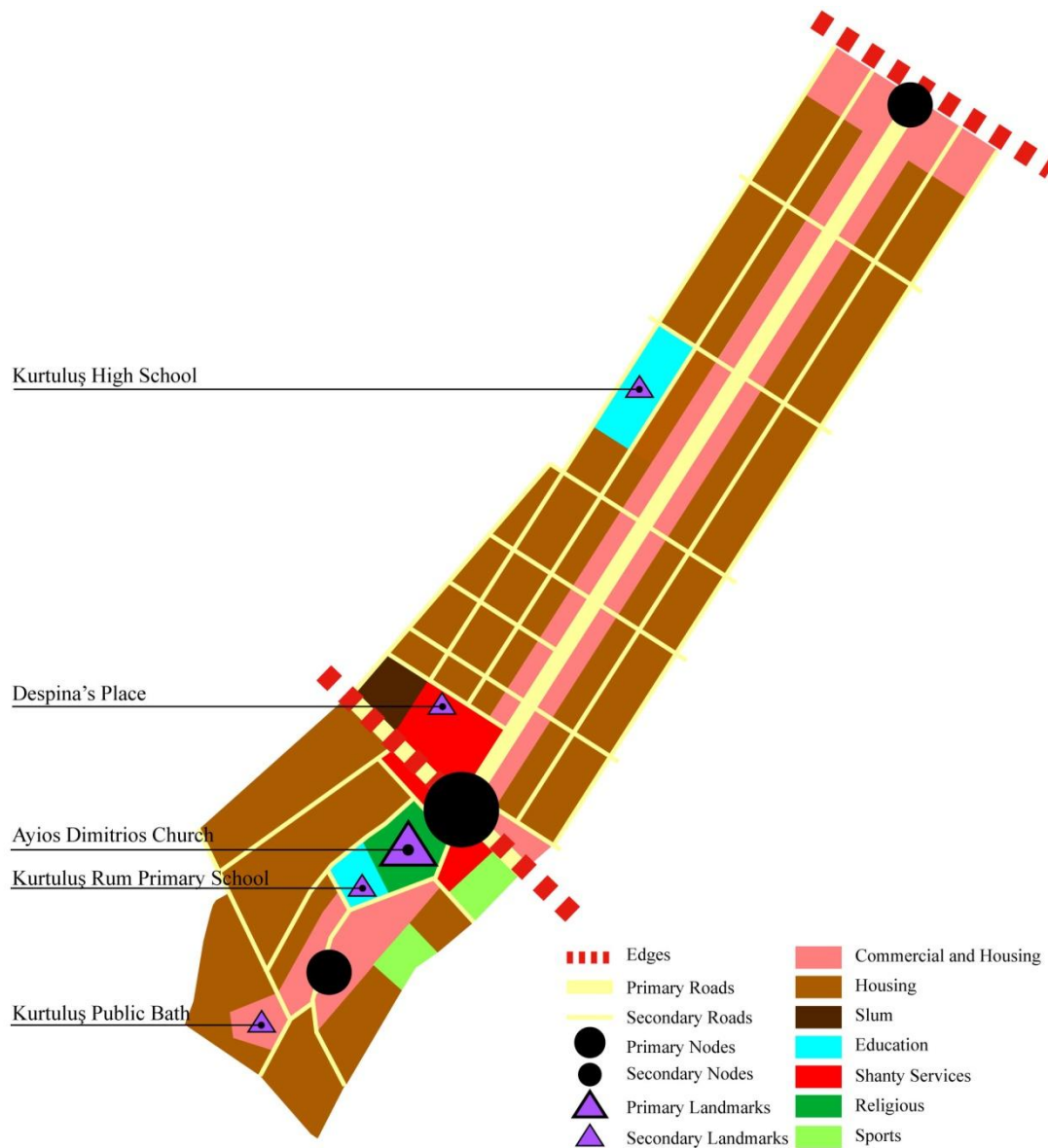


Figure 3.10: Image Analysis.

3.2.2.1. Position

In 1913, Hristodulu describes the perfect location of the Ayios Dimitrios Church and its square as,

The square has a perfect horizon due to its size and being located on the peak of a hill. It was an enthralling experience to stand there and watch the perfect landscape that includes the famous Camlica and the magnificent Kayisdagi. (Hristodulu, 2013)

However, today the view of the square has changed, due to the high buildings that covered its view (see Figure 3.11).

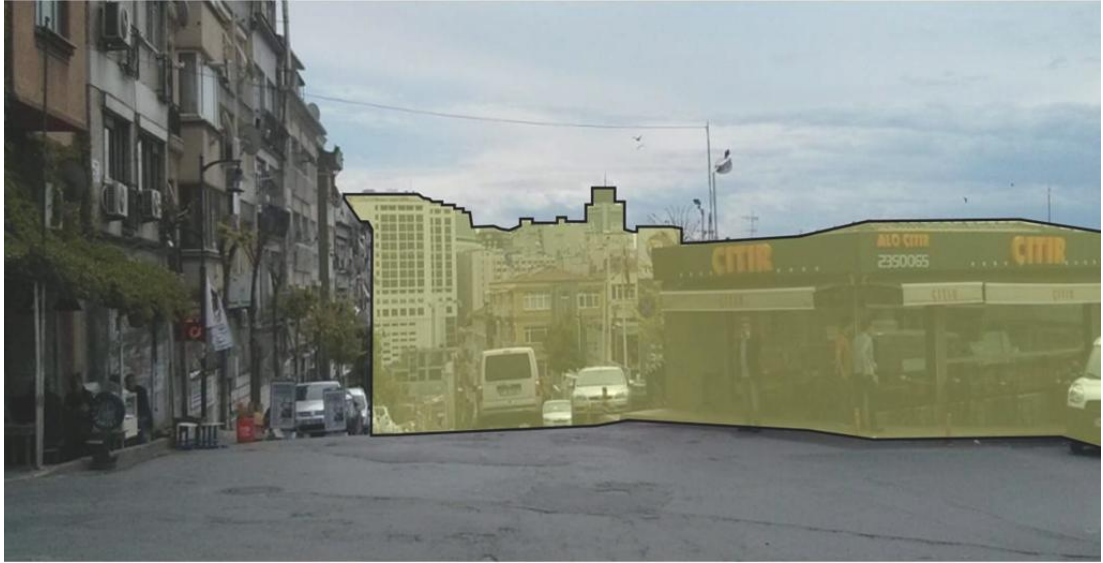


Figure 3.11: Today the Panoramio from Kurtuluş Son Durak Square.

3.2.2.2. Visual effect

The settlement has a complex structure. It has two different patterns, because of two different formation processes. One is organic and the other is grid. The older quarter of the settlement, which is also known as Ayios Dimitiros village, has an organic form, due to the natural development around the church after 1600s, upgrading from a village to a neighborhood. The northeast of the older quarter, which was developed in 19th century and covers the area from the church to the Latin Catholic cemetery, has a gridiron form (see Figure 3.12).

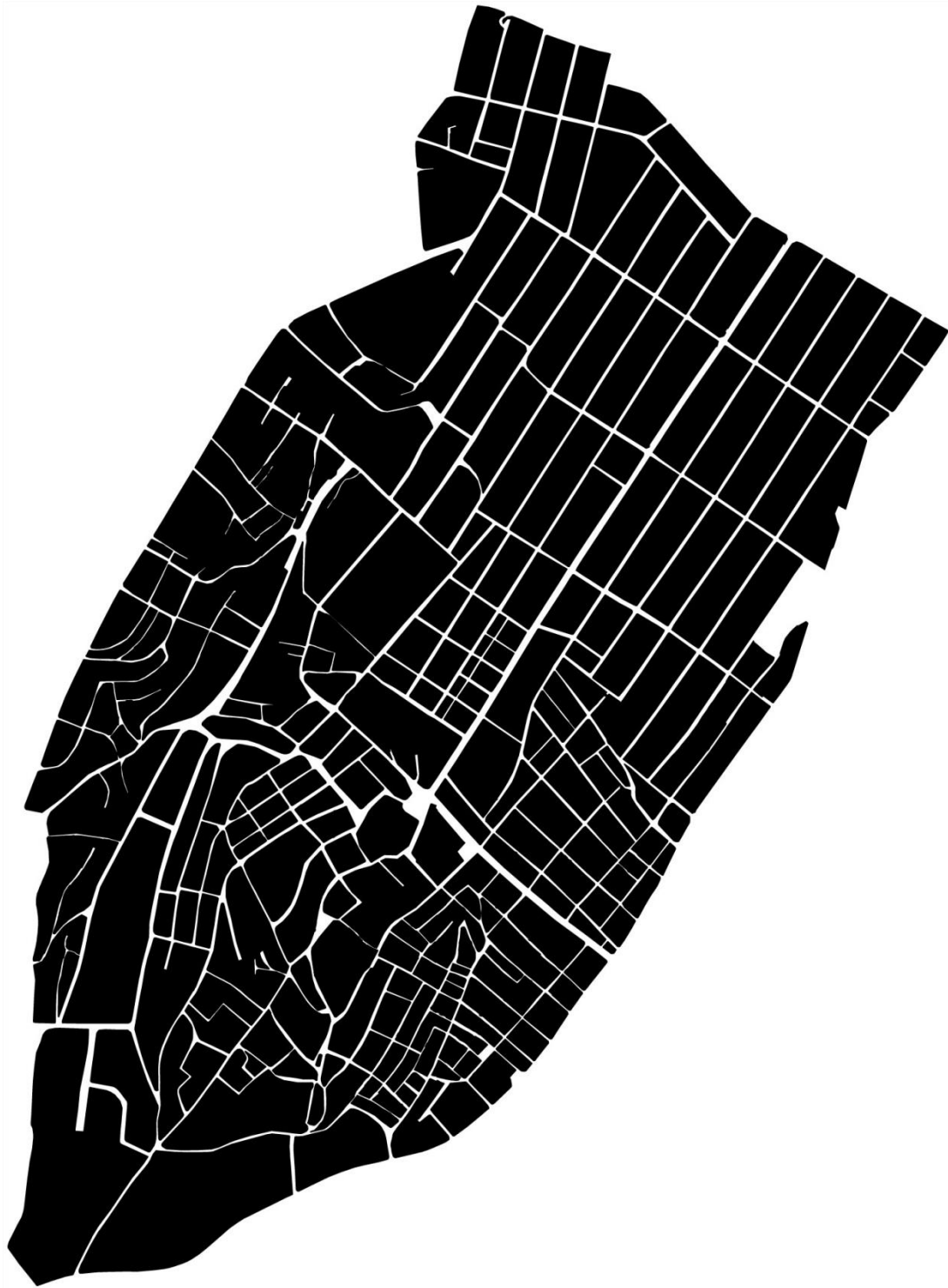


Figure 3.12: City Blocks of the Settlement.

Figure 3.13 shows the pattern of blocks in the settlement. In grid area, blocks form a regular structure, in which enclosed buildings form both courtyards in the middle and borders for the blocks. In the south of the settlement, urban pattern is irregular. Streets and blocks have organic forms. Streets turn into open spaces and create squares at some points. In addition, there are some undefined gaps inside the blocks

emerged due to urban decay. As a result of urban decay, there are also some blocks without any empty spaces inside, which are occupied by shanty buildings.

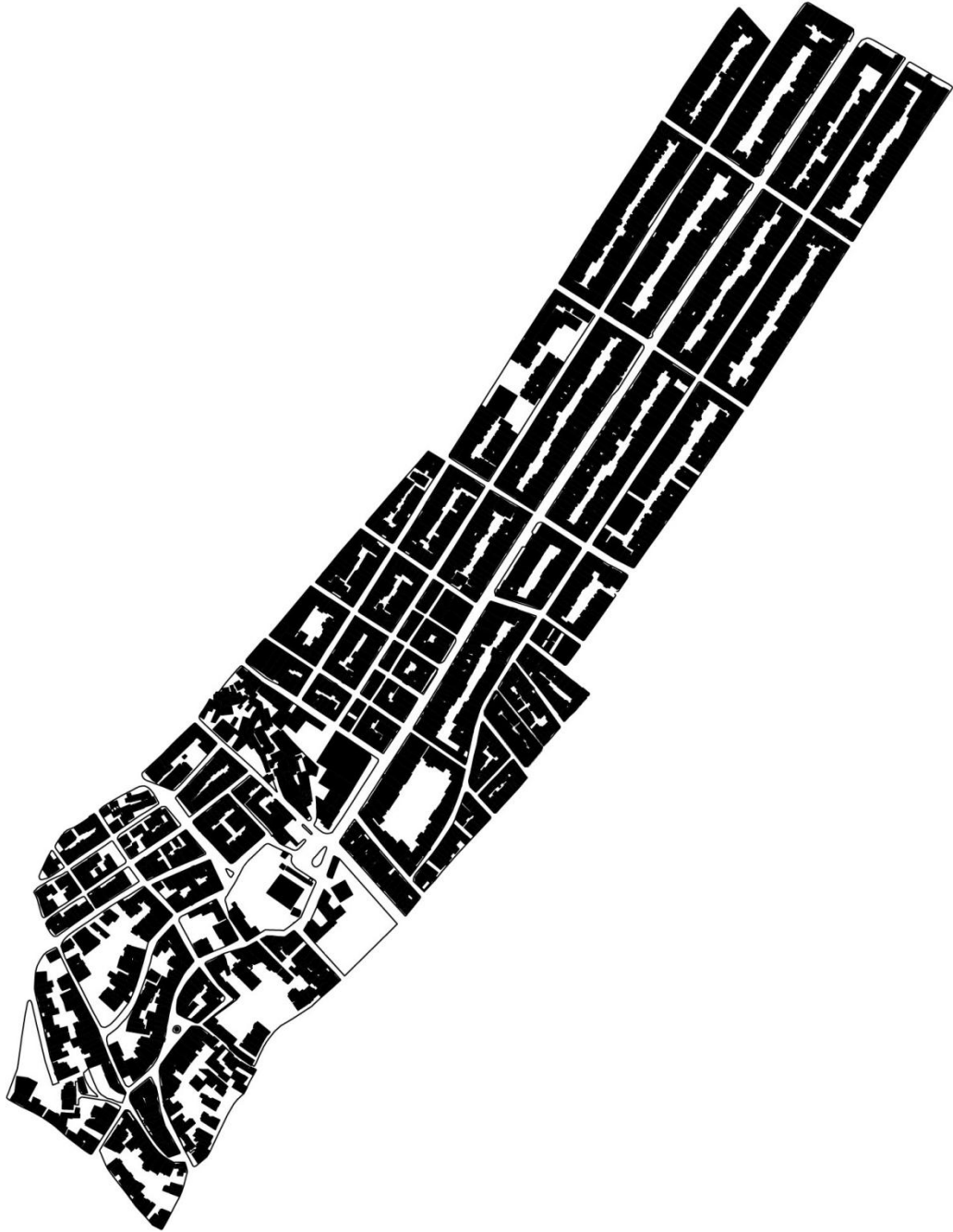


Figure 3.13: Figure-Ground Analysis.

Roads

Hristodulu explains the roads of Tatavla in 1913 as "The streets of Tatavla were neither straight, nor large except for Tatavla Street, in which tram was located. This street lies between Ayios Dimitrios Church and Feriköy French Cemetery"

(Hristodulu, 2013). Street pattern is the most resistant element in the city shape (Conzen, 1960). Both the narrow streets and larger streets remain more or less the same. There is no change observed in Kurtuluş street as well, when its former and current widths are compared, however, in terms of buildings surrounding the street, the change in building structure and building height is realized. Therefore, although the width of the street did not change, the enclosed feeling of the space has changed due to the width and height ratio. Two- or three-storey, wooden buildings with unique architecture were replaced with multi-storey, standardized and reinforced concrete buildings.

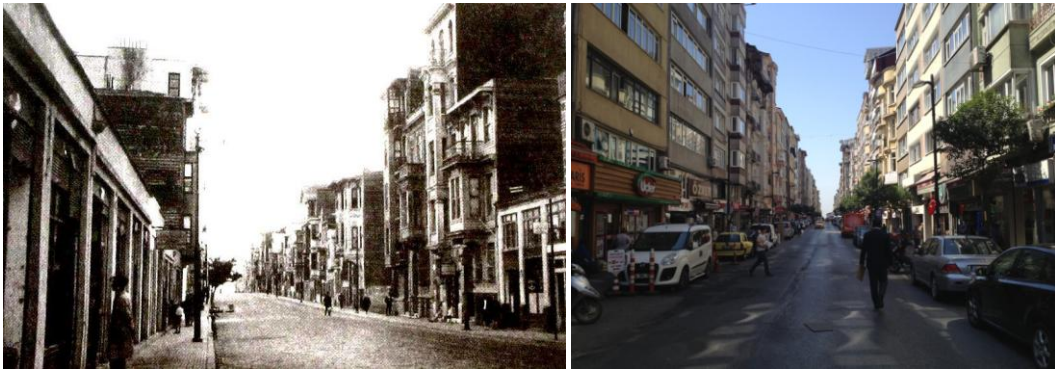


Figure 3.14: Kurtuluş Street Former and Current View.
(Archive of Irmak, 2014)

Buildings

Hristodulu mentions that the houses were made of wood and had two or three storeys in 1913. The number of the houses in 1903 was around 3000.

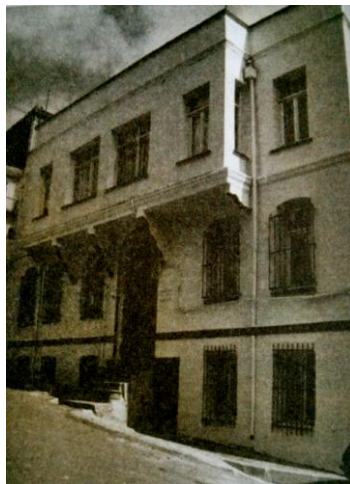


Figure 3.15: A Traditional Tatavla House.

After tram was built in the settlement, multi-storey apartment buildings began to emerge on the both sides of Tatavla Street (Hristodulu, 2013). Today, there are no

two- or three-storey houses along the Kurtuluş Street. The onestorey buildings are illegal housing, shops and a market at the end of the street in Son Durak. These buildings stand in the areas where there were squares, taverns and bus stations before (see Figure 3.16).



Figure 3.16: Storey Analysis.

Ayios Dimitrios Church, located in Kurtuluş Square behind the last stop, dates back to mid-16th century. It has a basilica plan with a tiled roof. Surrounded by high walls and blocked by the bus station, today it is difficult to recognize the church. Although

it was damaged many times in history, it was preserved until today thanks to a series of restorations.



Figure 3.17: Ayios Dimitrios.
(Url-15, Date retrieved : 15.04.2014)

Kiryakidis Bath was built in 1857 by Hacı Kosti. It is damaged highly today. In addition to physical decay of the building, the entrance to the bath is blocked as if the bath is hidden.



Figure 3.18: Sefa (Kiryakidis) Bath and Its Enterance.

Kurtuluş Rum Primary School, located near to Ayios Dimitrios Church, was built in 1886 and opened in 1887 as Tatavla Boys School. It has three storeys and nine classrooms. Among five Rum schools, it is the only Rum school left in Kurtuluş (Url-16, date retrieved 01.05.2014).

Kurtuluş Youth Club is located in Sefa Meydanı Street facing Kurtuluş Rum Primary School. The building was constructed in 1896 for the purpose of providing educational assistance and it was used by an association named Proodos (progress). In 1923, after the administrators of the association abandoned Istanbul, Iraklis

Gymnastic Club was relocated here. The building was damaged in 1955, but it is preserved until today (Url-16, date retrieved 01.05.2014).



Figure 3.19: A view from Dolapdere to Tatavla before and now.
(Url-16, Date retrieved 15.04.2014)

Squares

There is a change in squares as well. Some squares are lost, some are in erosion, and some are conserved. Son Durak Square, which is located in front of the Ayios Dimitrios Church was a pedestrian friendly open space before, today it has a connection from Akağalar Street to E-5 Highway passing through the square. In addition to the increase in car traffic, the area is occupied with some jerry-built shops, carpark, bus station and taxi stand. The chaos in the area makes the square repellent for pedestrians.

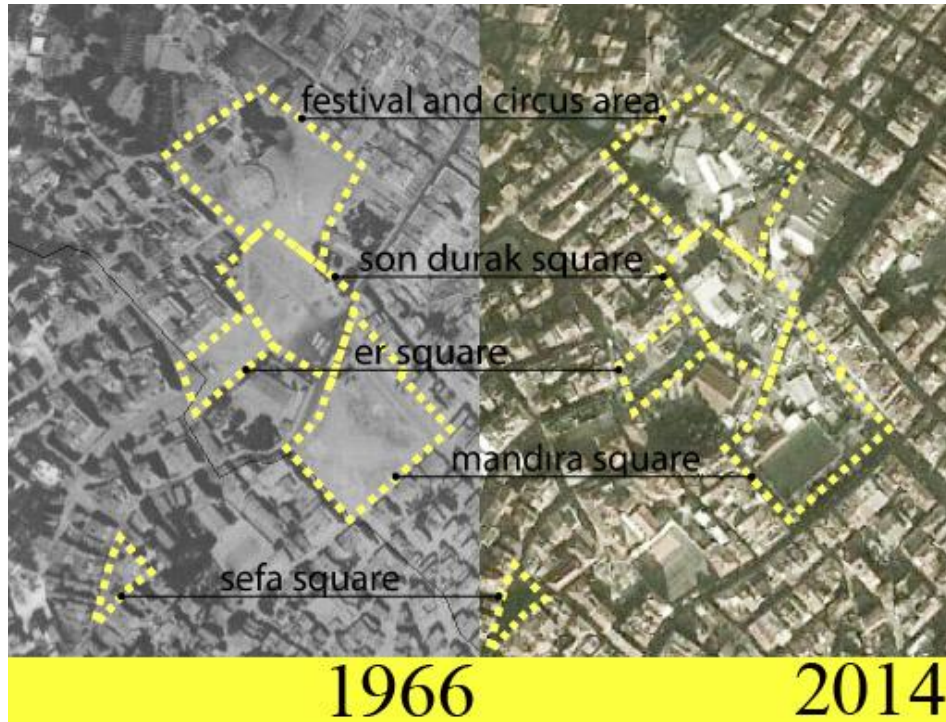


Figure 3.20: Squares in Kurtuluş

Although Sefa Square is the most conserved square in the area, it has some damages. It was in more human scale before, because of the two- and three-storey buildings surrounding it. Other than change in the buildings surrounding the square, in its former shape its fountain was a central figure of the square. On the contrary, today the fountain looks as if it is neglected. Placing the square by the road and hiding it via trees, reduce the fountain's dominant effect and the square's strong identity. Additionally, the fountain looks damaged, although it was restored in 1997.



Figure 3.21: Sefa Square.
(Url-16, Date retrieved 15.04.2014)

Er Square was another square in the area located right behind the Ayios Dimitrios Church. Although it is still an open space, it is occupied with a carpark and a playground park. Mandıra Square was located in the east of Ayios Dimitrios Church. Bus station was at this square before. Now there are some jerry-built shops, a gas station and a soccer field on it. In addition to the change in squares, the circus and festival area next to the Son Durak Square is occupied by some shanty buildings, slums, tea gardens and auto mechanics.

3.2.2.3. Usage

Kurtuluş Street functions as a spine of the settlement. It serves as a commercial hub, where various needs can be supplied. Although function is less resistant to change (Conzen, 1960), the street did not lose its function just like its route. However, the way of use is changed by means of transportation. Before there was a tram line on the street until 1961, and pedestrian mobility was comfortable. Contrary to this, today's traffic load and on road parking causes inconvenience for pedestrian mobility and decrease the quality of life.

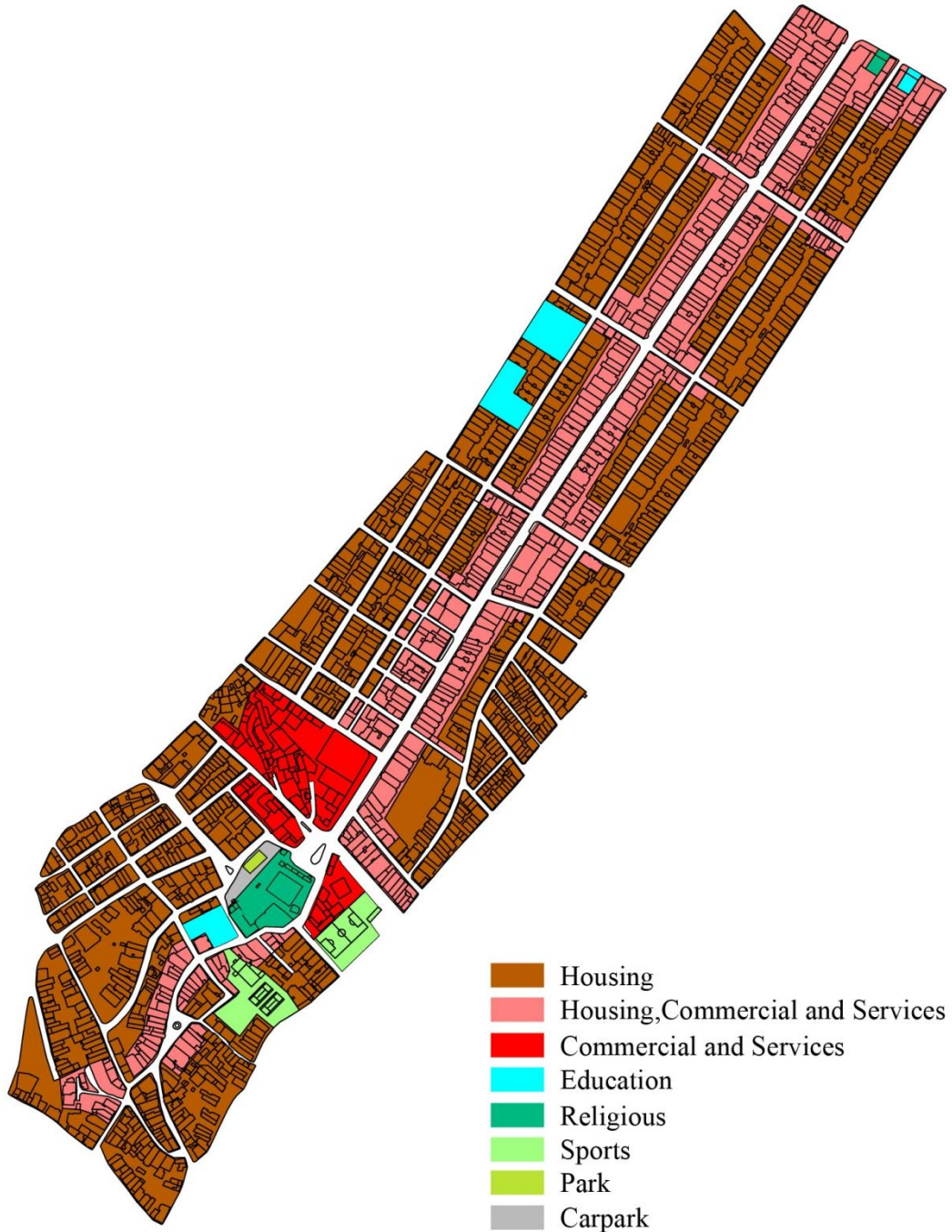


Figure 3.22: Land Use Analysis in Middle Scale.

Focused on Kurtuluş Son Durak, it is seen that the axis, which is a continuation of Kurtuluş Street still serve as a commercial area. The utilization of the buildings in the first floors are commercial and services like groceries, bakeries, hairdressers, butchers, small markets, cafes and in the upper floors are housing. Once unbuilt city blocks around the church are now services such as auto mechanics, cafes, bakeries. Other than housing utilization, there are facilities of sports, school, public bath in the area.



Figure 3.23: Land Use Analysis in Sub-Scale.

Importance of use of space is recognized, when the Kurtuluş Son Durak Square is examined. Figure 3.24 shows the use of the square and festival area in the past. Other than celebrations, time to time, circus was set up on the area and tavern buildings were in the middle as it is seen in the Figure 3.24. The square was housing hundreds of people from various districts of Istanbul, which had made Tatavla popular. In today's usage, there are some shops and a big market Carrefour, its carpark at its back, a bus station and a taxi stand. In addition to the repulsiveness of traffic load, which divides the square, the location of the bus station in front of the church and its name as Son Durak (Last Stop) makes people feel as if there is nothing behind the

station. It does not create an inviting entrance to the neighborhood, but instead it functions as a barrier and segregates the neighborhood from the Kurtuluş Street.



Figure 3.24: Tatavla Square (Son Durak Square and Circus/Festival Area)
(Archive of Irmak, 2014)

3.2.2.4. Meaning

In terms of collective memory, the meanings of the places are important. However, it is seen that firstly there is a loss in the meaning of places caused by changing their names. In 1927, before the first census was conducted, according to the act number 1003, all the streets, avenues and squares were named in Turkish (Türker, 1998). Later in 1929, right after the great fire, the name of the settlement was also changed. Table 3.1 shows the old and new names of the places in Kurtuluş. There are three types of changes in names. One is directly related to meaning like Kilise Arkası (Back of Church) / Omuzdaş (Brother in Arms), Aya Tanaş (Ayios Athanasios) / Yeni Alem (New Realm), Kilise (Church) / Hacı İlbey (Pilgrim İlbey), Papaz Köprüsü (Priest Bridge) / Yaya Köprüsü (Pedestrian Bridge). Other type is referring to the names of the residents living at that time such as Marki Kalfa / Dev Süleyman Papayanni / Remzi Baba, Kosti Kalfa / Azak, Hristodulos / Civan. Lastly, the change is phonetically like Zarifi / Zerafet, Yanaki / Can Eriği, Akarca / Akağalar.

Table 3.1: Old and New Names of Places in Kurtuluş

Street Names	Square Names
Kilise Arkası / Omuzdaş Ayazma / Lokumcu Aya Tanaş / Yeni Alem Marki Kalfa / Dev Süleyman Papayanni / Remzi Baba Aya Kiryaki / Teşrifatçı Polidefkos / Mekkareci Kosti Kalfa / Azak Hristodulos / Civan Zarifi / Zerafet Despot / Kokoroz Kalipso / Çakmak Yanaki / Can Eriği Mimar Andrea / Koçyiğit Papazoğlu / Gülleci Kilise / Hacı İlbey Lazari / Hacı Zeynel Hacı Yanako / Kabadayı Fotika / Baba Dağı Hacı Kosti / Varyemez Çapato / Çavdar Hristoduli / Ekşi Nar Hristo / Yeni Asır Hrisso / Ali Ağa Papaz Köprüsü / Yaya Köprüsü Akarca / Akağalar	Araba Square/ Er Square Çeşme Square/Sefa Square Aya Dimitri Square / Son Durak
	District Names
	Ay Serios Konstantinos / Hamalbaşı Evangelistrias / Dolapdere Neopolis / Yenişehir Kerasohori / Kirazlıköy
	Place Names
	Kiryakidis Bath / Sefa Bath Iraklis Sports Club / Kurtuluş Sports Club

The names of the churches, which remained the same, refer to saints. Due to their meanings, religious ceremonies are still held to celebrate the names of the saints. The day of Ayios⁵ Dimitrios is on 26th of October and the day of Ayios Athanasioson is on 18th of January.

The church of Ayios Athanasios has an additional significance, as it was the first domed church built in Istanbul since the conquest of Istanbul.

Kiryakidis Bath has a meaning as being the first bath, which was built by a Christian and located away from a mosque. Also it was a pioneer for the construction of bath Hacı Vasili in Pangaltı (Hristodulu, 2013).

⁵ Ayios means Saint in Greek.

3.2.3. Social environment

As Güvenç mentions that, “the one that has the identity is not the urban space, but the people who live within” (as cited in Arbak, 2005), social environment is a very important component in shaping the identity. In Kurtuluş, one can clearly observe how the identity changes in relation with the change in social environment.

3.2.3.1. Demographic structure

Today, the population of the area including seven neighborhoods is 78,400 (Url-17, date retrieved 27.03.2014, Url-18, date retrieved 27.03.2014). It is supposed that, among 2000 Rums in Istanbul 500 of them live in Kurtuluş currently, while in 18th century there were 20,000 Rum residents living in the area.

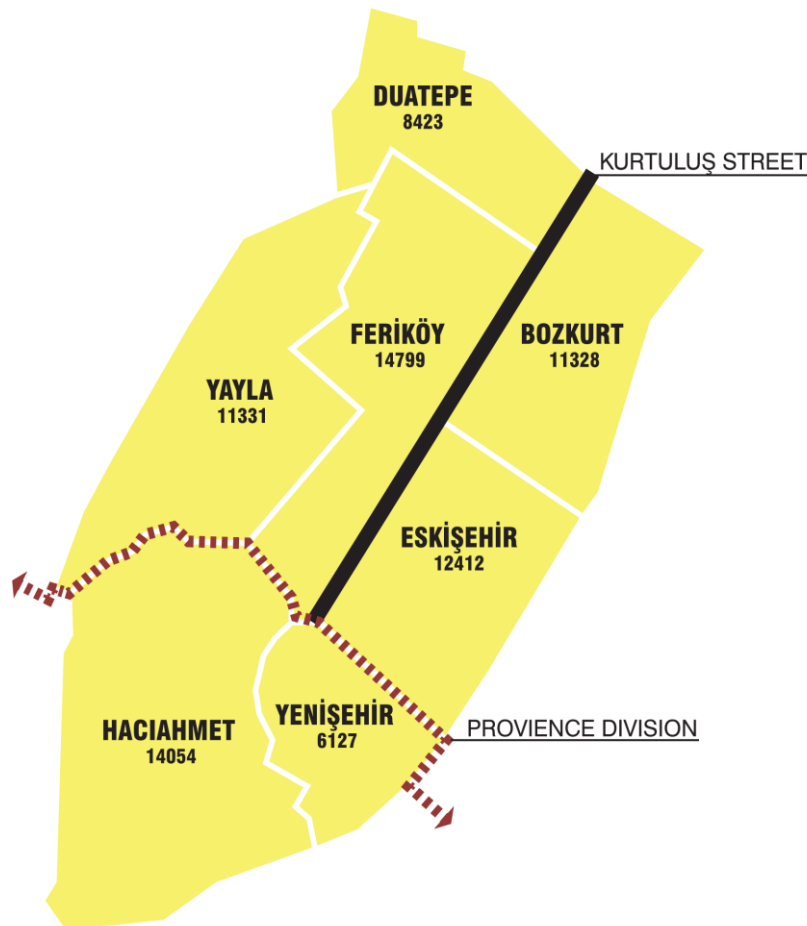


Figure 3.25: Neighborhoods in the Settlement and Their Population.
(Demiroğlu and Erin, 2013)

Kurtuluş has always been a cosmopolite settlement. In 19th century, there were Armenians, Jews and British living here. In Republic Era, Muslim Turks and Albanians were added to this cosmopolite structure. After 6-7 September incidents of

1955 and dislocation of Rums in 1964, the demographic structure has changed dramatically. Today in addition to the minority groups, there are immigrants and refugees from Anatolia and various countries form the cosmopolite structure. The residents vary as Turks, Rums, Armenians, Jews, Kurds, Assyrians, Iraqis, Iranians, Syrians, Nigerians, Somalians etc.

As distinct from other settlements, in which minorities were living, Tatavla (Kurtuluş Son Durak) was purely Rum and until 1923 there were no Turkish residents in the neighborhood. That is why the settlement was named as "Little Athens" by Muslims (Türker, 1998). Today it is called "Little Baghdad", because of the refugees from Iraq, who are mostly Christian and prefer to live close to the churches, charities such as Caritas (Url-19, date retrieved 27.03.2014). Furthermore, the signs in the settlement show the cosmopolitanism. In 19th centuries' photos, it is seen that the store signs are in various languages. Today other than Turkish, Arabic can also be observed on signs (see Figure 3.26).



Figure 3.26: Store Signs in the Past and Today.

Tatavla was a neighborhood of poor workers until 19th century. They were working in the shipyard and most of them were dealing with handcrafts. However, from 19th century to first quadrant of 20th century, the settlement housed the most crowded and

rich Rum community after Pera. The occupations of the inhabitants in this period were related to banking, merchandizing, education (Eskenazi, 2012).

3.2.3.2. Institutional structure

In the past the settlement was known as a Aya Dimitri village with its Rum Orthodox residents. In 1793 after the great demand of Rums, it was announced that only Rums are allowed to settle in Tatavla via an Ottoman edict (Hristodulu, 2013). In 1884, Tatavla began to be administrated with special regulations. With 53 representatives of 1,030 dwellings, 12 residents were chosen for community council (ihtiyar heyeti) (Şişli Municipality, 2010).

In Republic Era, Tatavla was inside the borders of the municipality "6th District" (Beyoğlu Municipality). In 1954, Şişli was upgraded to a province and the settlement was divided into two districts (Türker, 1998). Neighborhoods Hacıahmet and Yenişehir remained inside Beyoğlu Municipality, and Duatepe, Feriköy, Yayla, Bozkurt and Eskişehir in Şişli.

Figure 3.27 shows the land ownership of the district. It is seen that there are a vast number of lands in the property of Rum foundations, and the owner of the area, where shanty buildings exist, are foundations' as well. Moreover, there are several lands, whose owners are not known. Considering the development of the site, it can be presumed that these lands were belonging to foundations or old residents in the past.

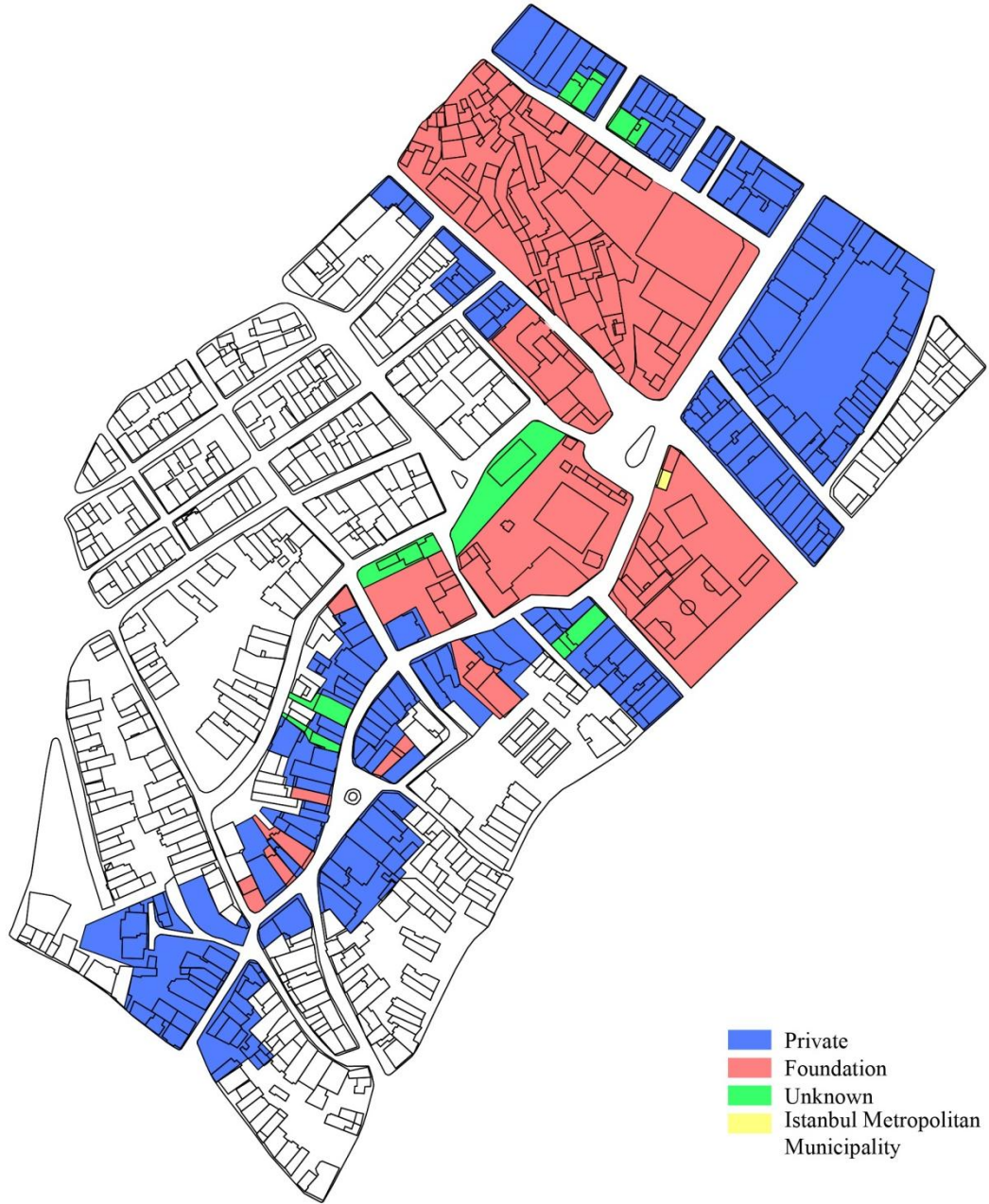


Figure 3.27: Property Analysis.

3.2.3.3. Cultural structure

Although Rums are of descent Greek and the first residents of Tatavla were brought from Greek Islands, Rum culture distinguishes from Greek culture. Rums in Istanbul call themselves as Polites (city person in Greek) (Örs, 2014).

After Gülhane Hattı Hümayun-u, Tatavla became a neighborhood in between administration centers of Ottoman Empire, Dolmabahçe, Çırağan and Yıldız Palaces, which resembles mystic characteristics of East and Pera, which is associated with

Western culture (Türker, 1998). In addition to these environmental effects, the mosaic of Greek, Armenian, Jewish, British and Turkish residents had formed a rich culture.

Tatavla was known not only as Little Athens, but also as the center of entertainment, due to its carnivals, festivals, taverns and folk dancing. Baklahorani Carnival, which was being celebrated right before the Lent⁶, was very famous in Istanbul and it was one of the most important identity elements of Tatavla.

In her book 'Loksandra' Maria Yordanidu describes the Baklahorani Carnival as:

"When it got to Baklahorani day before the big fast, Rum from all over Istanbul would sing their way with songs and folk songs to meet in Tatavla. Groups of young girls would sing songs, and children would swing on gondolier swings or ride on merry go rounds decorated with bands and flags. The young men of Tatavla would give displays of their unique dances and games to the Istanbul Rum. When the entertainment started to get into the swing of things, Barba Todori's hurdy gurdy would belt out the cheerful strains and songs that were the flavour of the year" (Url-21, date retrieved 01.05.2014).



Figure 3.28: Baklahorani Carnival.
(Source: Archieve of Irmak, 2014)

The festival Baklahorani ended in 1941, as İnönü banned the festival due to security reasons. However, since five years, the carnival began to be celebrated by locals again, although it is not celebrated as it was used to in the past.

⁶ Fasting period before the Easter



Figure 3.29: Baklahorani Carnival in 2014.
(Url-21, Date retrieved: 01.05.2014)

Not only Christian based festivals were celebrated in Tatavla. As it had a cosmopolite structure, Muslim festivals were celebrated as well. Italian painter Fausto Zonaro pictured a scene from Ramadan celebrations in 1908. He also depicted the scene verbally as:

"First comes the sound of the drum, soon after the Armenian, who very well plays shrill pipe... Firemen were lined up one by one by connecting arm to arm. They wait for beat of drum steak on the drum. And here it is, little steps and small stoops begin."



Figure 3.30: Fausto Zonaro's Tatavla Painting.
(Url-20, Date retrieved: 15.04.2014)

Daily activities varied. Kurtuluş Sports Club was a very dominant association and its activities were sometimes on the roads. In games, the residents were supporting the teams. Today the activities are limited. Also for women, there was tailoring school, which does not exist today.



Figure 3.31: Daily Activities in Tatavla.
(Archieve of Irmak, 2014)

Along with Greek traditional music and dances, Anatolian influences were also seen in Tatavla's music and dance culture. Taverns of Tatavla were famous in Istanbul with their music, dances and kitchen. Among taverns the best known was Despina's Place. The others were Yasemin's Tavern and Ali's Tavern. Despina's Place still

exists in the same place, but other taverns are replaced by Carrefour and other commercial buildings (Irmak, 2010).

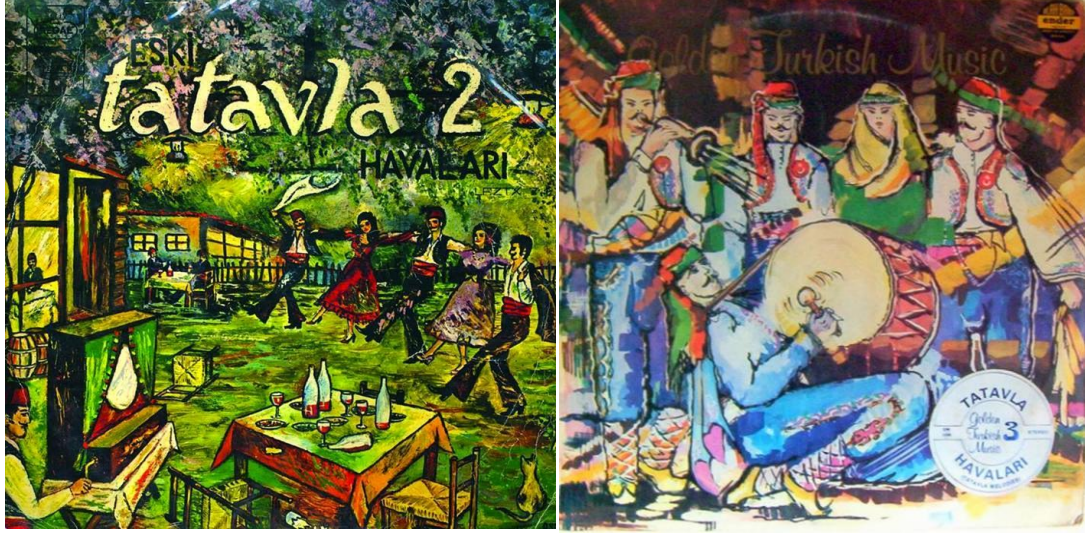


Figure 3.32: Tattavla Folk Dances.
(Archive of Irmak, 2014)

Today, the destruction in the cultural structure is observed clearly, as the old residents left and current residents are either refugees, who are waiting to move Western countries, or immigrants, who do not have an urban culture but a rural culture. These groups try to maintain their own culture by isolating themselves from the others. Moreover, they do not feel attached to Kurtuluş, but instead have a feeling of belonging to their homeland. There are a variety of associations belong to Anatolian immigrants (see Figure 3.33). Furthermore, the refugees maintain their society in churches, charities and coffee houses (kırathane).



Figure 3.33: Anatolian Immigrants' Associations.

In conclusion, as identity of Kurtuluş is investigated, it is seen that there are some values, which are still conserved, some values are in erosion and under the threat of getting lost, and some values are already lost. Figure 3.34 demonstrates these values in three categories as natural environment, built environment, and social environment. Conserved natural values are ridge of the area, which is on the Kurtuluş Street and some small parks, additionally cemeteries in upper scale. Lost natural environment elements are streams, clean air, and vegetable gardens in upper scale. Conserved built environment elements are churches, schools, street pattern, and Sefa Square; the element in erosion is public bath; lost values are civil architecture, location of Ayios Dimitrios with Bosphorus panorama, and Mandra and Er squares. In social environment, conserved values are cosmopolite structure and province division, though it is a negative element. Values in erosion are neighborhood structure, Baklahorani Carnival, sports activities, taverns, folklore, use of public places and feeling of belonging. Lost values are reputation, security, quality of life, circus and festivals.

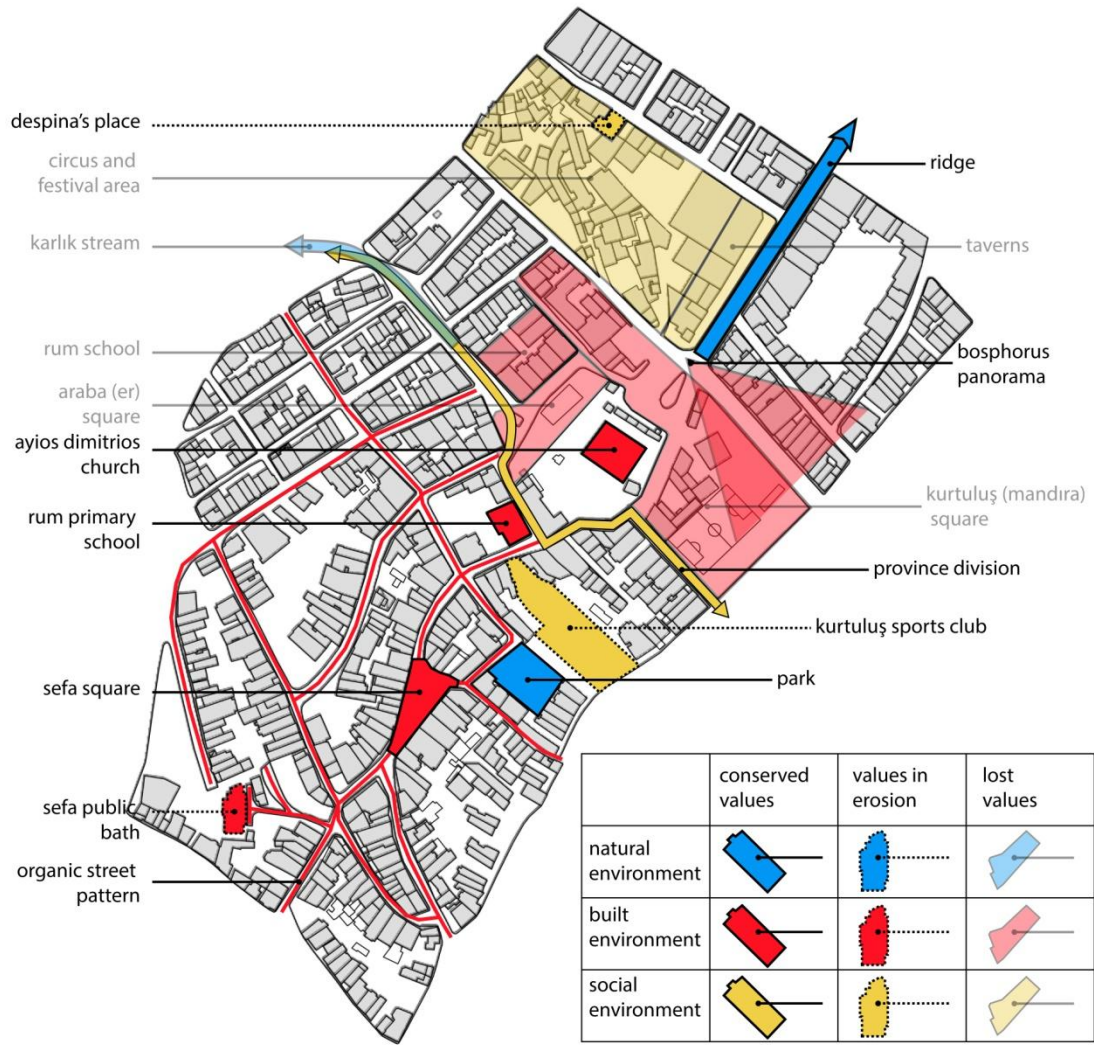


Figure 3.34: Identity Map of Kurtuluş Son Durak.

3.3. Causes and Effects of Identity Construction in Kurtuluş

The causes and effects of identity construction in Kurtuluş are investigated under three sections. First Ottoman Era policies are examined which led to the formation of identity in the settlement. Further, the change in identity is inspected in relation to the policies in two different periods, early republic and after 1950.

3.3.1. Ottoman Empire policies

When the formation of identity in Kurtuluş is investigated from the beginning of emergence of the settlement, it is seen that the formation occurred due to Ottoman policies bringing a social class to Istanbul to work for building ships. Thus, the formation of identity was initiated with a group of people with common social characteristics, such as originating from Greek islands, being salesmen and slaves,

coming together around a Greek church, which stands as a representation of their identity. As the group had settled, built environment had developed in progress until 16th century. In terms of social environment, another Ottoman policy which is related to protection of the neighborhood by Kaptan-ı Derya (Chief Admiral) had strengthened the identity, because other Rums from outer settlements have preferred to reside in the neighborhood. At the end of 18th century, with a demand of large Rum population, it was forbidden for people of a nationality and religion other than Rum Orthodox to settle in the neighborhood. Although they were minority in the empire, this attempt can be explained as a willing of Rum community to legitimize and reinforce their identity as being majority in the district. Nonetheless, short after policies of British Government had affected the identity of Kurtuluş. In order to maintain commercial relationships, some British families were placed in the district with the suggestion of British Government. Soon after, Armenians and Jews also settled in the area, and the identity of Kurtuluş had begun to convert from Rum to cosmopolitan.

19th century corresponds to the Tanzimat Reform Era. Tanzimat Era was characterized by attempts of modernization in areas varying economy, education, defense, urban planning. Inspired by Western urban models, a law in 1863 "had determined that all new developments should consist of square (murabba) or rectangular (müstatil) blocks" (Çelik, 1986, p.51). According to this law, the new development area, which was towards east, was planned in geometrical forms, which is the modern planning approach of the century. Consequently, the Kurtuluş Street and the gridiron form around it have formed as a strong identity feature of the settlement. In addition to construction of gridiron structure, first implementations of Tanzimat Reforms have been seen in Kurtuluş. Other than modernization, the purpose of the reforms was to integrate non-Muslim and non-Turk population to Ottoman society in order to secure the empire against nationalist movements. With this intention, Ayios Athanasios Church was the first domed church to be built in Istanbul when the ban on the construction of domed churches after the conquest was lifted with the Administrative Reform Edict in Tanzimat Era.

1911 was an important date for the urban identity of the settlement. As the first tram was constructed on Kurtuluş Street, the integration of inhabitants, who were living as if they were isolated, to the city got much stronger. The tram had connected Kurtuluş

Son Durak to Pangaltı, Harbiye, Taksim, Galatasaray and Tünel through Kurtuluş Street. The construction of the tram not only had an effect on social integrity, but also reinforced the identity of the street. The form of the street has changed thanks to the rent provided by the tram. Higher income groups moved to live in new built apartments by two sides of the street, aliveness and activities increased and the street got more vital for the settlement.

In 1914, Tatavla was badly affected from World War I, as all Istanbul. Tatavla citizens were called for war as well, due to the 1908 constitutional law, which equalized Ottoman Muslims and Christians. The population decreased due to the effects of war and outbreaks of epidemics right after the war. In 1922, by the news of liberation of Izmir, some cultured Rum elites including administrators of Proodos Association⁷, who were supporters of Greek opponents during occupancy years, have left the country in fear of being called to account (Türker, 1998).

3.3.2. Early republic era policies

With the establishment of Turkish Republic, a new Turkish identity has been constructed as a *project identity*. Once devalued Turkish identity by Western countries, now constituted its new identity via labeling Western identity and Ottoman identity as others (Akdoğan, 2009). According to Kazgan, the vision of the new republic was to provide full independence, economic development and modernization within the scope of nation-state and national economy (as cited in Asiliskender, 2002).

Aiming to build a *modern* and *nation-state* identity, numerous reforms were implemented, and those reforms had both positive and negative effects for the identity of Tatavla.

After the formation of Turkish Republic, the cosmopolitan identity of Tatavla developed more with settling of Turks in the district. The biggest problem that was faced during the first years of the republic was the obligation to speak Turkish. Following the reform of new alphabet in 1928, a campaign "Citizen, speak Turkish" was launched to encourage citizens to use Turkish language more and to provide language unity. Later in 1932, national economy implementation has launched to knit

⁷ Proodos Association was a Rum association located in Tatavla, where Kurtuluş Sports Club is located now.

the nation together and abolish foreign control on the economy. However, the ones powerful in commerce and industry were minority groups. Thus, a number of professions were banned to non-Muslims, which led several businessmen to leave the country. These reforms on language and economy have isolated minority groups from public arena.

Year 1929 was a critical year for the change in identity of Tatavla. On 21st of January, the greatest fire in history of Tatavla broke out, in which most of the buildings were damaged. There were some speculations about the fire. It was claimed that authorities have not exerted an effort to quench the fire, and they were not that sad because a Rum settlement was burnt. As soon after, the name of the district converted to Kurtuluş (Salvation) from Tatavla, the claim was maintained, questioning if it was salvation from the fire or from the Rums (Türker, 1998). As an impact of language reform, not only the district, but also the neighborhoods, streets and places were renamed in Turkish.

In 1937, districts around Kurtuluş, Kağıthane, Bomonti and Dolapdere were planned as organized industrial zones by H. Prost. As a result of this decision, by 1950s the district has developed as a place where auto mechanics, sellers of spare parts and scrap dealers work. Also, workers of these industrial occupations began to live in the area. However, in 1970s new industrial sites were built in Istanbul and many industrial occupations in Kağıthane, Bomonti and Dolapdere have removed to the new sites (Uzsan, 2001).

The festival Baklahorani, which was one of the most striking elements of Kurtuluş, was banned in 1941 because of security concerns; it was an immense loss for the identity of the settlement. Later in 1942, Wealth Tax created a new crisis for non-Muslim groups both socially and economically. These groups lost confidence against government and had to sell their properties to pay the taxes. The ratio of tax was as below:

Table 3.2: Ratios of Wealth Tax.
(Url-22, Data retrieved: 26.04.2014)

Population group	Amount of taxes to be paid
Armenians	232%
Jews	179%
Greeks	156%
Muslims	4,94%

3.3.3. Policies after 1950

Policies after 1950 lead to the most effective change in identity of Kurtuluş. Nationalist propaganda has increased and caused loss of identity while targeting ethnic groups other than Sunni Muslim Turks. The project identity that was constructed by the formation of the Turkish Republic, has converted into ultimate legitimized identity. Combined with ultra-nationalist movement, resistance identity was aimed to be destroyed.

When urban decay of Kurtuluş is investigated after 1950, four breaking points stand out in 1955, 1964, 1974 and 1980. All of these dates have social effects on urban identity of Kurtuluş, in which locals of the settlement have moved out. By the change of population, not only the social structure, but also the physical setting of the settlement changed due to the use of space of new habitants.

First incident, which affected the identity of the district, was division of municipalities. In 1954, when Şişli has upgraded to a province, the district lost its integrity being partly in Şişli and partly in Beyoğlu. This division still has an effect especially on integration of plans and regulations.

6-7 September events, which were initiated by the *dominant institutions* of society namely the government and the media, had affected two aspects of urban identity in terms of its components: *built environment* and *social environment*. With regard to built environment a large amount of churches, foundations, cemeteries, houses and shops of mainly Rum communities as well as other minorities were destroyed. Destruction of Rum properties, which stand as a *representation of their existence*, can be explained as the *construction of legitimized nationalist identity* in order to maintain its dominion and power. As an attempt to survive, most of the destruction on built environment was restored well after the events. However, in terms of social

environment, it resulted with a feeling of insecurity of Rum citizens against the government and caused emigration of the groups.

Following years in 1958, shutting down Istanbul Greeks Association as another example of exercising power on *devalued group* -Rum minority- was resulted with an exile of a cultured Rum group. Later, it continued with the exile of 12,903 Rums, which were holding Greek citizenship in 1964. However, with the addition of their families it reached an amount around 50,000 people. After this date, first social structure later physical structure of Tatavla changed dramatically. There can be other concerns behind the dislocation of these groups. In the periods following the year 1950, housing policies were crucial issues, as urbanization and migration rate has accelerated and housing supply was inadequate. By replacing the Rum community, a gap has occurred in housing market. Keleş (2002) explains the process of filtering as when a group of families have left their houses due to certain reasons, the houses have been occupied by families with lower incomes. Thus, the sale and rent prices of the housing decreased. The quality of the housing also decreased due to the effects of social corruption and crime rate.

In 1974, another dislocation process took place. After Cyprus Operation, Rums in Istanbul, in fear of reflections of the incident such as another exile decision or blockage of bank accounts and properties, have emigrated abroad (Maria A., Personal Communication, April 18, 2014). Further, before and after 1980 Turkish coup d'état, due to right-wing/left-wing conflicts numerous inhabitants of Kurtuluş including not only Rums, but also Armenians, Muslims, Jews, Albanians and Alewis have left the country.

After these four important dates, the urban decay process of the settlement has increased. New residents of the settlement, with lack of belonging feeling, ignored the urban identity of Kurtuluş. First natural environment elements began to disappear. Due to rapid urbanization and immigration, construction on green areas began, streams were covered and agricultural fields were damaged. According to interviewee Uygur Ö., as vegetable gardens were destroyed, Albanians dealing with cropping and sale of the orchards' crops left Kurtuluş, because they lost their pecuniary resources. Change in built environment was also grounded by the lack of belonging feeling and urban culture. Old characteristic houses, which were one- or two- storey single family houses with gardens, were replaced with multi-storey

buildings. The replacement took place because of agreements between the owners of the houses and contractors. As contractors have destroyed the old houses and built new apartments, the owners would own flats from the apartments, which was more profitable than owning houses. Further negative effects to urban identity in Kurtuluş were occurred due to yet again nationalist approaches. As old residents of the neighborhood had left, new Sunni Muslim nationalist groups have settled in. They owned housing, and also occupied the open spaces, owned by the church. They built shanty houses and tea gardens on the square, where circus was set up before (Hüseyin I., Personal Communication, April 19, 2014). In addition to that, the bus station was relocated in front of the Ayios Dimitrios Church. Thus, the occupation of the squares in front of the church both covered the church and created a chaos in the entrance of Kurtuluş Son Durak. In fact, this was another operation of politics. Covering the front line of the church meant covering the existence of Rum community there, as the church is a symbol of their existence. Also shanty buildings damaged the reputation of the neighborhood, creating undesirable appearance. The neighborhood had no more an inviting square as an entrance. The station and the shanty buildings have disconnected Kurtuluş Son Durak from the Kurtuluş Street and the rest of the neighborhoods. This was also leaving the neighborhood to its fate, which increased the rate of urban decay. As a matter of fact, soon it became the neighborhood of stigmatized groups due to low rents of housing. Gypsies from peripheral neighborhoods such as Hacıhüsrev moved Kurtuluş Son Durak. In 1990s, transsexuals, whom were removed from Cihangir under the name of urban regeneration, were moved the neighborhood. Kurds and other immigrants from Anatolia, as well as refugees from abroad have moved Kurtuluş Son Durak.

After a long period without planning, a number of 1/5000 scaled master plans and revisions of Dolapdere-Piyalepaşa Bulevards and Its Environment Master Development Plan (Dolapdere-Piyalepaşa Bulvarları ve Çevresi Nazım İmar Planı) have been prepared in 1983, 1986, 1989, 1994 and 1997. Due to the division of municipalities, the plans of the area are held by two different committees. Lastly in 2002, 1/1000 scaled Beyoğlu-Dolapdere Piyalepaşa Bulevards and Their Environment Implementary Plan (Beyoğlu-Dolapdere Piyalepaşa Bulvarı ve Çevreleri Uygulama İmar Planı) which covers Hacıahmet and Yenışehir neighborhoods, was approved (see Figure 3.35). This plan area is excluded from

Beyoğlu urban conservation area. In 2005, 1/1000 scaled Şişli-Dolapdere Piyalepaşa Bulevards and Their Environment Implementary Plan (Şişli-Dolapdere Piyalepaşa Bulvarı ve Çevreleri Uygulama İmar Planı) was approved (see Figure 3.36).



Figure 3.35: Beyoğlu-Dolapdere Piyalepaşa Bulevards and Their Environment Implementary Plan.
(Source: Beyoğlu Municipality, 2014)

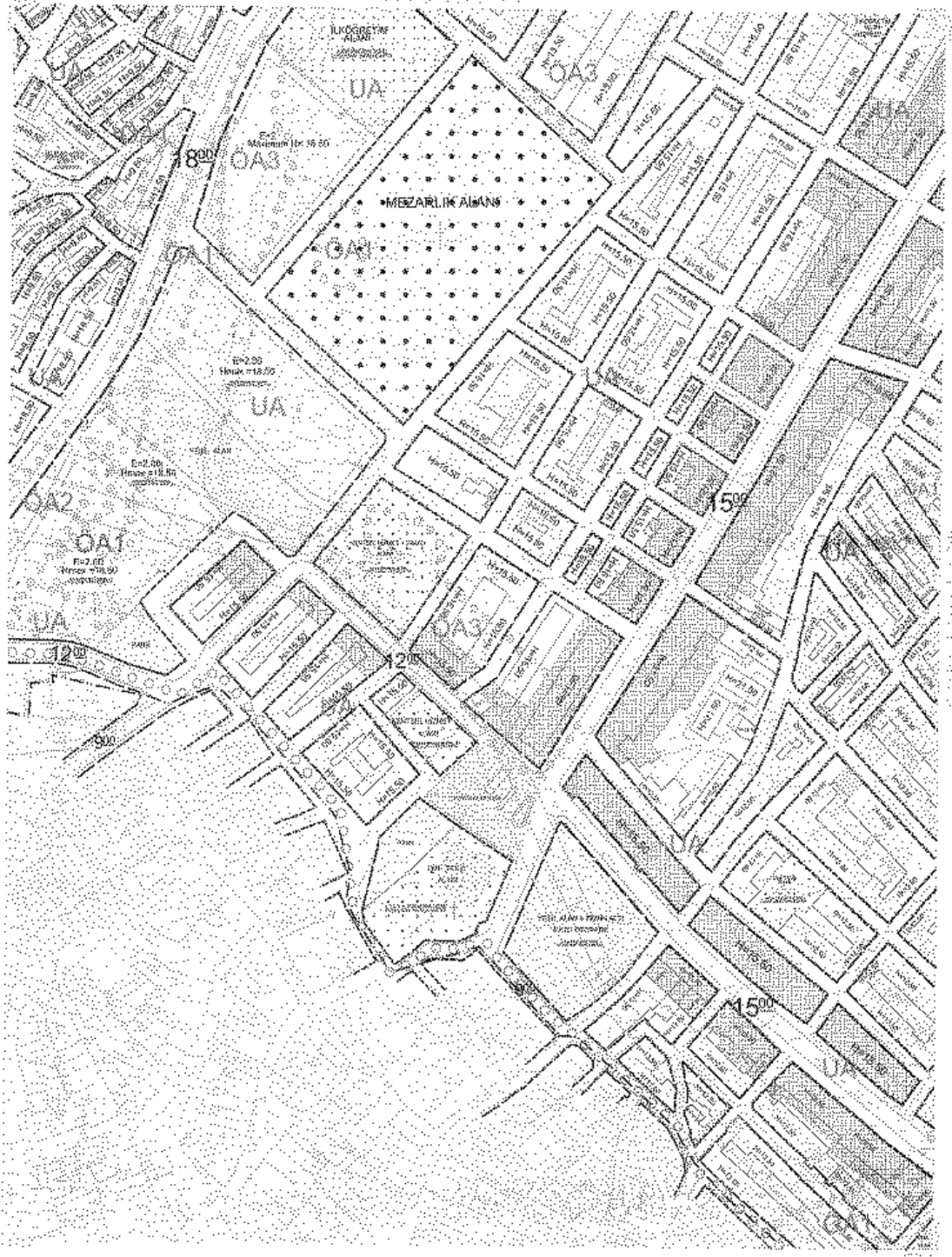


Figure 3.36: Şişli-Dolapdere Piyalepaşa Boulevards and Their Environment Implementary Plan.
(Source: Şişli Municipality, 2014)

The main objective of both plans appears to be the same -- rehabilitating the area and providing a planned development. However, because there are two different municipalities in the area, the plan decisions differ. For instance max height value in Şişli part is 15.50m and in Beyoğlu part it is 12.50m. Thus, the lack of holistic approach does not let the site to develop planned and in control. In addition to

integrity problems in planning, urban trends, politics and territorial pressures cause the site to develop irregularly. Figure 3.37 demonstrates the land values in and around the area by 2006. As it is seen, the land values are the highest along the avenues. The values at northeast are higher than the southwest. Moreover, the values in outer part of the Piyalepaşa Boulevard are higher than the values in inner part. As a result, the land values in Hacıahmet and Yenişehir neighborhoods, where Kurtuluş Son Durak is located are the lowest after Hacı Hüsrev. The land values also verify the decay in the area.



Figure 3.37: Land Values in Kurtuluş and its Environment in 2006.
(Source: Yalçıntaş, 2008, p.232)

As central location, low land values and the urban regeneration projects around such as in Bomonti, Tarlabası and Talimhane are considered, the district is likely to be a subject to large scale real estate projects and urban regeneration. Accordingly in 2010, residence and shopping mall projects on the 20 dekar land, which is in the ownership of Rum foundations were announced in real estate news. It was explained that foundation tenders the land, because it cannot receive rents from the occupants (Url-23, date retrieved 10.06.2014). In the light of these tendencies, it is supposed

that the identity of Kurtuluş will change again and more urban identity elements will get lost.

3.3.4. Evaluation of identity construction policies

As the reasons for formation of and change in urban identity of Kurtuluş are investigated, it is seen that effects of some policies and incidents are common in other cities and neighborhoods. However, effects of some incidents are rarely similar in other districts and exceptional for Kurtuluş (see Table 3.3). For example, fires, migration and rapid urbanization are problems of numerous cities and neighborhoods, but policies like renaming streets, Wealth Tax or incidents like 6-7 September events and Cyprus Operation are effective in a small number of districts, which are similar to Kurtuluş.

Table 3.3: Reasons for Formation of and Change in Identity of Kurtuluş.

	Effective in General	Effective in Local
Ottoman Period	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Applying Western urban models ▪ Tanzimat reforms ▪ Fires ▪ World War I 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Bringing Greek slaves ▪ Protection of Chief Admiral ▪ Forbidding other nations to settle ▪ Placing British merchants ▪ Tram project
Early Republic Period	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Fires ▪ Master plans and development plans 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Renaming streets and places ▪ Obligation to speak Turkish ▪ National economy implementation ▪ Banning Baklahorani festival ▪ Wealth Tax
Period after 1950	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Migration ▪ Rapid urbanization ▪ Coup d'état in 1980 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Division of municipalities ▪ 6-7 September events in 1955 ▪ Shutting down Istanbul Greeks Association ▪ Dislocation of Rums holding Greek citizenship ▪ Cyprus Operation

Furthermore, Table 3.4 analyzes the site in terms of Castells' construction of identity theory. According to the theory, all legitimizing, resistance and project identities are observed in the site.

Table 3.4: Construction of Identity in Kurtuluş.

	Legitimizing Identity	Resistance Identity	Project Identity
Actor	Government, Media and Nationalist groups	Minority Groups, Immigrants, Refugees	Tanzimat
			Formation of Republic
Tools	Banning festival Wealth Tax 6-7 September Events 1964 Exile 1974 oppression Occupation of properties	Demand in Ottoman Flags etc. in WWI Churches, Schools, Foundations, Cemeteries Culture Little Athens Little Baghdad	Modernization New Urban Model Rights to minorities
			Policies on Language National Economy

3.4. Evaluation of Interviews

In this section, the interviews, which are done with six residents of Kurtuluş, are evaluated. The interviewees are residents, who have begun to live in Kurtuluş before 1980. The ethnicity of the interviewees varies. Among six interviewees three are Muslim Turks, one is Rum, one is Armenian and one is Alewi Kurd. Identities of Muslim Turk interviewees also vary that one is from Erzincan, one's family is from Sivas and one is an Istanbulite. The purpose of choosing such profiles is to compare old and new identity of Kurtuluş from point of views different social groups (see Table 3.5). The interviews are done and evaluated under three sections: Migration, settling and belonging; daily life; image and perception (see Appendix).

Table 3.5: Profile of the Interviewees.

Interviewees	Age	Place of Birth	Ethnicity	Gender	Education	Years in Kurtuluş	Profession
1. Hüseyin I. ⁸	53	Sivas	Alewi Kurd	M	Masters Degree	1964-1986	Press Consultant and Author
2. İlda D.	59	Kumkapı	Armenian	F	High School	1971-	Housewife
3. Maria A.	60	Kurtuluş	Rum	F	High School	1954-	Housewife
4. Şakir E.	88	Erzincan	Sunni Muslim	M	Primary School	1969-	Pastrycook
5. Tülin Ö.	63	Kurtuluş	Sunni Muslim*	F	High School	1951-1986	Accountant
6. Uygur Ö.	61	Kurtuluş	Sunni Muslim**	M	High School	1953-	Decorator

* She is an Istanbulite.

** His family is from Sivas.

⁸ Hüseyin Irmak is the author of the book "İstanbul'da bir kadim semt, yaşadığım Kurtuluş"

3.4.1. Settling, migration and belonging

The settling initiation of the interviewees in Kurtuluş ranges from 1950s to 1970s (see Table 3.6). Three of them were born in Kurtuluş, one has moved from another district of Istanbul, one from Sivas and one from Erzincan. Five of the interviewees were living in Kurtuluş Son Durak and one was living in Pangaltı in the past. Four of them are still living in the district and two have moved to other districts in Istanbul due to the reasons of work or marriage. Four interviewees had their own house, while two were living in housekeeper's flat. Only one of them mentions that they were living as an extended family in two attached houses, while the others were living in apartment flats as nuclear families. Five of the interviewees had some relatives and acquaintances, when they moved Kurtuluş. One had neither relatives nor acquaintances, but after he has moved, his relatives have moved to Kurtuluş, too.

Two interviewees, who were living in Sefa Square in 1950s and 1960s, tell that around 90% of their neighbors were Rum and the languages in the neighborhood were Greek and Turkish. Three have said that most of the residents were Rums in 1970s, but there were also Armenians, Jews, Albanians, Muslim Turks and Assyrians, the language used was Turkish in common and Greek, Armenian and Ladino⁹ languages were heard mostly. One has mentioned that in Pangaltı, residents in their neighborhood were only non-Muslims, and the languages were Turkish, Armenian, Greek, Ladino and Italian. Now the residents vary more that Kurds, Arabs and Blacks have settled to the district as well. Additionally most of them mentioned that non-Muslim residents of today are only elders. Interviewees belong to a minority group have said that they still speak their language though less frequently. Among all interviewees only Alewi Kurd one has explained that he was discriminated by some nationalist Muslim Turks. Other than that none of them have been discriminated by other groups. One also stated that although she was not discriminated, she has seen her Rum neighbors being discriminated in 6-7 September 1955, 1964 exile and 1974 Cyprus Operation.

They all feel attached to the district and longing to the past. Some talk about their longing and memories while crying, and describe how people were warm, helpful

⁹ Spanish language which Jews speak.

and respectful to each other, how their social life was alive and how their environment was clean (see Table 3.6).

Table 3.6: Answers for Questions on Settling, Migration and Belonging.

	1. Hüseyin I.	2. İlda D.	3. Maria A.	4. Şakir E.	5. Tülin Ö.	6. Uygur Ö.
Settling	Son Durak	Pangaltı	Sefa Square (Son Durak)	Son Durak	Sefa Square (Son Durak)	Son Durak
Relatives/ Acquaintances	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
Migration	Left. Reason: work	Stayed	Moved to Pangaltı in Kurtuluş	Moved to Bozkurt in Kurtuluş	Left. Reason: marriage	Stayed
Ethnic Diversity (Past)	Rums mostly, Armenians, Jews, Albanians, Assyrians, Turks	Non-Muslim groups	Rums (90%), Armenians, Jews, Turks	Rums, Armenians, Jews, Assyrians, Turks	More than 90% were Rums	Rums, Armenians, Jews, Turks, Albanians
Ethnic Diversity (Now)	Additionally Gypsies, Kurds, Blacks, Anatolian people (from Erzincan mostly)	Arabs, Blacks, Jews, Rums, Muslims etc.	Additionally Arabs, Blacks	Additionally Blacks, Anatolian people (from Erzincan, Sivas mostly)	NA	Additionally Kurds, Blacks, Arabs, Assyrians
Discrimination	Yes	No	No	No	No	No
Place Attachment	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Longing to the past	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

3.4.2. Daily life

About the usage of churches, interviewees say that in the past they were all full. A Muslim interviewee explains that even they were attending the masses of Christmas and Easters. Also in Muslim fests, Christians were celebrating their neighbors' fests, and they were sharing their special meals in fests of both religions. Later the population of Rum churches has decreased, but Armenian churches are still full as the Armenian interviewee has explained. Nowadays, as the Rum interviewee says old Kurtuluş residents from Greece comes in Christmas and Easters for celebrations. About the usage of schools, they say the population of Rum students has decreased dramatically. Lastly the bath was used frequently before that once a week women were going as groups and having fun also afterwards the bath session at the terrace of the bath, but now it is used rarely and in recent years it has restored many times.

The associations and clubs in Kurtuluş were Kurtuluş Sports Club, Association of Feriköy Armenian Middle School and Pangaltı High School. The activities in these

associations and in Ayios Dimitrios Church were theaters, dance shows, concerts, and balls. These activities are still maintaining. However, the activities and success of Kurtuluş Sports Club have decreased. An interviewee explains that in the past the club was so popular that it had a lot of fans. Also it had one of the few football fields in Istanbul, which had a lighting at night. Thus the matches at night were holding with a lot of supporters. She continues that when Harlem club from America had a match with the team of Kurtuluş Sports Club, streets were full of people.

The places interviewees spending their times at the most were houses of their neighbors, streets, and circus when it was set up in summers. Kurtuluş Street is the street all of the interviewees use the most, because of the of its shopping, service and transportation facilities. Moreover, according to four of them, Son Durak Square is the center of Kurtuluş. One thinks that Kurtuluş Street is the center and one thinks Pangaltı is the center. About the amount of open spaces, all interviewees say that there were more squares, vegetable gardens and parks before. Today these are occupied with buildings.

When interviewees talk about neighborliness relationships, they all agree that in the past all residents in the neighborhood knew each other well and they visit each other frequently, but now they just know their neighbors living in the same apartment. Furthermore, they agree that there was no security problem in the past, but now there is. Considering security problems the interviewee living in Pangaltı say that they were afraid of going further lower parts of Kurtuluş Son Durak, and it is the same now. A Rum interviewee say that she cannot go to the street she grew up, because she remembers her memories and feels emotional (see Table 3.7).

Table 3.7: Answers for Questions on Daily Life.

	1. Hüseyin I.	2. İlda D.	3. Maria A.	4. Şakir E.	5. Tülin Ö.	6. Uygur Ö.
Use of churches, schools and baths	Churches and schools were full. Sefa Bath was in use.	Churches and school still full. Now baths are closed or not in use.	Churches are still in use but with less population. There are a few Rum students in schools. Now bath is not in use.	All were in use and full before. Now Rum school have a few students, Sefa Bath is under construction.	Churches and schools were full. We were going Sefa Bath every week.	Churches and schools were full. Women were going Sefa Bath every week.
Associations and activities	There were activities of Kurtuluş Sports Club. Now these activities decreased. Also there are associations of villagers from Anatolia now.	Cultural activities of Kurtuluş Sports Club, Feriköy Armenian Middle School and Pangaltı High School	Feriköy Association, Kurtuluş Sports Club, and activities in Ayios Dimitrios Church.	Kurtuluş Sports Club.	Sport, teather and musical activities in Kurtuluş Sports Club.	Kurtuluş Sports Club. There were a lot of matches.
Festivals	Circus was set up in summers.	Carnival gatherings on streets in last years. Fests of different religions were celebrated together.	Baklahorani Festival, Street Fairs in Easter, Balls in Christmas, circus in summers. Muslim fests were celebrated together as well.	Circus. Rums were having special celecraions for Christmas and Easter in the past. Fests of different religions were celebrated together.	Christmas and Baklahorani Carnival activities were held on streets with music and dances. Fests of different religions were celebrated together.	Baklahorani Festival and circus. Fests of different religions were celebrated together.
Spending time mostly	At streets and squares with friends.	At home, at market and at neighbors. Spending time with neighbors has decreased.	Tea gardens, taverns, circus area, streets.	At work.	At school, at work and at neighbors houses.	At streets and squares with friends.
Usage of roads	Kurtuluş Street	Kurtuluş Street and Baruthane Street	Kurtuluş Street	Kurtuluş Street	Kurtuluş Street	Kurtuluş Street
Center	Son Durak Square	Son Durak Square	Kurtuluş Street	Pangaltı	Son Durak Square	Son Durak Square
Relationship with neighbors	All knew each other in the past.	Before all knew each other. Now only the ones in the same apartments know each other.	All knew each other in the past.	Neighbors were like a family. Now a few people know each other.	All knew each other in the past. Visitings in the morning for coffee and gatherings at night were famous.	All knew each other in the past.
Security	There were no security problems.	Before it was secure. Now it is not.	There were no security problems.	There were no security problems	There were no security problems.	There were no security problems

3.4.3. Image and perception

Evaluating image and perception, it is seen that interviewees, who belong to minority groups, prefer to use the name Tatavla or both Tatavla and Kurtuluş, but other interviewees use Kurtuluş. This preference shows the characteristics of resistance identity. Though the name Tatavla is known by all of them, old names of other streets are not known much. The first thing comes to the minds of people varies. For old Kurtuluş the answers are polite and elegant people, joy, Rums, old Istanbulites, love, respect, friendship, circus, joy, swings, tea gardens etc. For *new* Kurtuluş, the answers are chaos, lack of reliability, habitualness and nothing but memories.

When Kurtuluş is compared to other districts, in which minorities reside, the answers are conflicting. One interviewee says that the residents of *old* Kurtuluş were more middle class people and craftsmen. However, one says that minorities in Cihangir and Kurtuluş were wealthier and had better standards of life. Another interviewee agrees that residents of Cihangir and Kurtuluş were similar. Lastly, the Rum interviewee emphasizes that Kurtuluş was "Little Athens".

About the image of the settlement they all think that before Kurtuluş Son Durak's image was better than Feriköy and Pangaltı, but now Feriköy's and Pangaltı's are better. Lastly interviewees affirm that urban decay in the settlement has begun after 1955, 1964, 1974 and 1980, and they say it has accelerated in last 15 years.

Table 3.8: Answers for Questions on Image and Perception.

	1. Hüseyin I.	2. İlda D.	3. Maria A.	4. Şakir E.	5. Tülin Ö.	6. Uygur Ö.
Kurtuluş or Tatavla	Tatavla	Tatavla	Both	Kurtuluş	Kurtuluş	Kurtuluş
First Thing Comes to Mind (old Kurtuluş)	Church, Son Durak, Rum-Armenian-Jew, living together, taverns.	Rums and their joy, tea gardens	Swings	Neighborliness and human affairs.	Courteous and fashionable people, old Istanbulites, love, solidarity, respect, joy, delicatessen, patisseries	Courteous people, fraternal life, childhood.
First Thing Comes to Mind (new Kurtuluş)	Chaos, people from Erzincan	Leaving of Rums, and lack of reliability.	Just memories.	Habitualness and comfort.	Kebap houses, 1 TL stores and sadness (She does not want to go to the district anymore.)	Just memories.

Continuation of Table 3.8: Answers for Questions on Image and Perception.

	1. Hüseyin I.	2. İlda D.	3. Maria A.	4. Şakir E.	5. Tülin Ö.	6. Uygur Ö.
Comparison with Other Districts	Residents are more middle class people and craftsmen.	-	It was Little Athens.	There were not many differences with Cihangir.	In Kurtuluş and Cihangir, Rums were wealthier. So quality of life and social life were better.	-
Comparison of Son Durak, Feriköy, Pangaltı	Before Son Durak was an entertainment center, Pangaltı was a shopping place, and Feriköy was not secure. Now, Feriköy is better, but Son Durak is not secure.	Son Durak is scary. Pangaltı is better in the last years.	They were all the same.	The beginning of the Kurtuluş Street is more prestigious (Pangaltı, Feriköy), the end of the street has a worse reputation.	The reputation of Son Durak was better than Feriköy, Pangaltı was a shopping place. Now the reputation of Feriköy is better.	More or less the same.
Changes in Time	Residents and life styles have changed.	Old courteous residents have left. Respect, love and culture have disappeared.	Residents and life styles have changed.	Decent residents and families were living before.	As Rums leave, quality of life decrease more. The newcomers were far from the urban culture.	Residents and buildings have changed. Parks, vegetable gardens and dairy farms have disappeared.
Breaking Point	1974 1980 and last 15 years	Last 15 years	1964 1974	1955 1964 1974 and last 15 years	1955 1964 1974	1964 1974

3.5. Conclusion of the Chapter

In this chapter, the urban identity of Kurtuluş, as well as formation and change of identity are examined in detail by using theories of Ocakçı, Castells and Lynch as methods. First historical development is investigated. Having a glance on its history, Kurtuluş emerges around the church Ayios Dimitrios in 16th century with residents brought from Greek islands by Barbaros Hayrettin Pasha to work in the shipyard. Later it becomes a Rum neighborhood with a population of 20,000 and by time British, Armenian and Jewish groups settle in the district too. Kurtuluş Street develops more after the construction of the tram. Policies especially after 1950s, let the residents leave the district and new residents appear, who are mostly migrants from Anatolia and refugees from Middle East and African countries. In addition to interventions on social structure, interventions to built environment and natural environment lead weakening in urban identity.

After introducing the location and history of the district, urban identity elements based on natural environment, built environment and social environment are discussed. It is seen that once Kurtuluş had a unique geographical position,

topography, climate and flora, but has lost the climatic and floral values. In terms of built environment elements, the position of Ayios Dimitrios Church, visual effect of urban fabric, usage of Kurtuluş Street and square, the meaning of churches, bath and names of streets are distinctive features of Kurtuluş. As social environment is analyzed, it is found out that the cosmopolitan structure and the culture it has formed are the most important elements in urban identity of Kurtuluş.

In the third part of the chapter, it is seen that the Ottoman Empire policies are effective in formation of identity in Kurtuluş, whereas nationalist policies in republic period have an effect on loss of identity. Especially the fire in 1929, 6-7 September events in 1955, exile of Rum residents in 1964, Cyprus Operation in 1974 and coup d'état in 1980 led an urban decay, when combined with facts of migration and rapid urbanization.

Lastly interview with old residents are evaluated. According to residents, the district has lost its values, which form a strong identity for Kurtuluş, after the locals have left and immigrants came.

4. CONCLUSION

Identity is the most sensitive subject of various study fields. Last decades the notions of identity and locality have become more striking as a reaction to global standardization and technological developments those facilitate mass production. As identity issue became more important, identity crises and their reasons came into prominence.

With the intention to find reasons for loss of identity and urban decay in historical quarters, this study aims to investigate what kind of elements form urban identity, and how they vanish gradually. Focused on construction of identity, the hypothesis of the study is "New policies for construction of identity cause loss of urban identity". In order to test the hypothesis, Kurtuluş district is chosen as a case study, because it has a historical and cosmopolitan identity, it is losing its identity and it is affected by policies of identity construction. Within the scope of the thesis, first elements forming the identity of Kurtuluş are examined under three sections, natural environment, built environment and social environment by using the theory of Ocakçı as a method. Moreover Lynch's method for the image of the city is implemented, historical and current photos are compared, old texts and memories are evaluated, observations and interviews are made. Lastly urban analysis such as figure-ground, land use, storey number and circulation are conducted. Further, the reasons for formation of and change in identity, as well as effects of nationalist policies and urban planning decisions on identity are investigated via adjusting Castells' construction of identity theory on space, and using historical texts, maps and interviews.

Before Kurtuluş case is studied deeply, concepts of identity, construction of identity and urban identity are introduced in order to provide a framework for evaluation of Kurtuluş case well. Moreover, place and national identity construction concepts are inspected through examples of Thessaloniki, Mostar and Kayseri, to apprehend relationship of politics and place identity better.

As identity of Kurtuluş is studied, it is found out that the most dominant elements shaping the urban identity were based on social identity and representation of the social identity on urban space. Contrary to the powerful identity in the past, today Kurtuluş has a weak identity, because of series of reasons mostly related to the dislocation of Rum residents. In the study, the reasons of identity formation and change are discussed in three periods: Ottoman Empire, Early Republic and after 1950s. Formation of identity begins with bringing Greek sailors to Istanbul to work in the shipyard as slaves in Ottoman Period. The slaves settle around Rum Orthodox Ayios Dimitrios Church and the area develops first as a village later as a neighborhood with the other incoming Rum residents. As an Ottoman policy, the protection of the Chief Admiral was effective in increase of population in terms of security. Later in addition to new Armenian and Jewish, by the decision of locating British merchants in the area the neighborhood gains a cosmopolitan structure. Tanzimat Reforms on urbanism and social rights are important factors in formation of identity. Lastly the construction of the tram changes the urban fabric in Kurtuluş in Ottoman Period. After the years of war, Turkish Republic was established as a nation-state and a series of reforms take place to build a project identity. In the first years of the republic, obligation to speak Turkish and national economy policies isolates minorities from the public sphere. Later in 1929, an outbreak of fire destroys the district so that the identity with the demolition of buildings. Right after the fire, renaming neighborhoods, streets and places is effective for losing destroying identity by intervening to collective memory. Lastly in 1940s, banning the famous festival Baklahorani and outcomes of the Wealth Tax cause erosion in identity. After 1950s, there are four breaking points effective in urban decay of the settlement. Based on the nationalist movements and legitimizing identity actions, in 1955 6-7 September events, and in 1964 exile of many Rum families take place. Moreover, by the effects of Cyprus Operation in 1974 and coup d'état in 1980, old residents leave the country. After these dislocations, the district allows immigrants and refugees, who do not have urban culture and feeling of belonging to the place. Lack of conservation consciousness combined with rapid urbanization, caused the district to lose its positive identity elements dramatically. Interviews with the residents, who have lived in 1960s and 1970s in Kurtuluş and belong to different ethnical groups, also verify the hypothesis that the decay in the neighborhood began with the dislocation of

locals. When they compare the past and the present, the interviewees commonly point out the loss of identity and cultural values, as well as natural and architectural.

The findings of the case study verify the hypothesis that identity construction policies have an effect on loss of urban identity. In Kurtuluş case, although there are some other sub-reasons in the decay of the area, the main reason lies behind the actions of legitimizing identity, whereas it can also be derived that the formation of such a strong identity was sourced by cohesive effect of resistance identity. As Figure 4.1 shows the causes and effects of identity loss, dislocation of Rum residents and relatively erosion in culture are the main reasons in urban decay; external effects such as fire, rapid urbanization and migration are also effective in identity loss and trigger the process of decay.

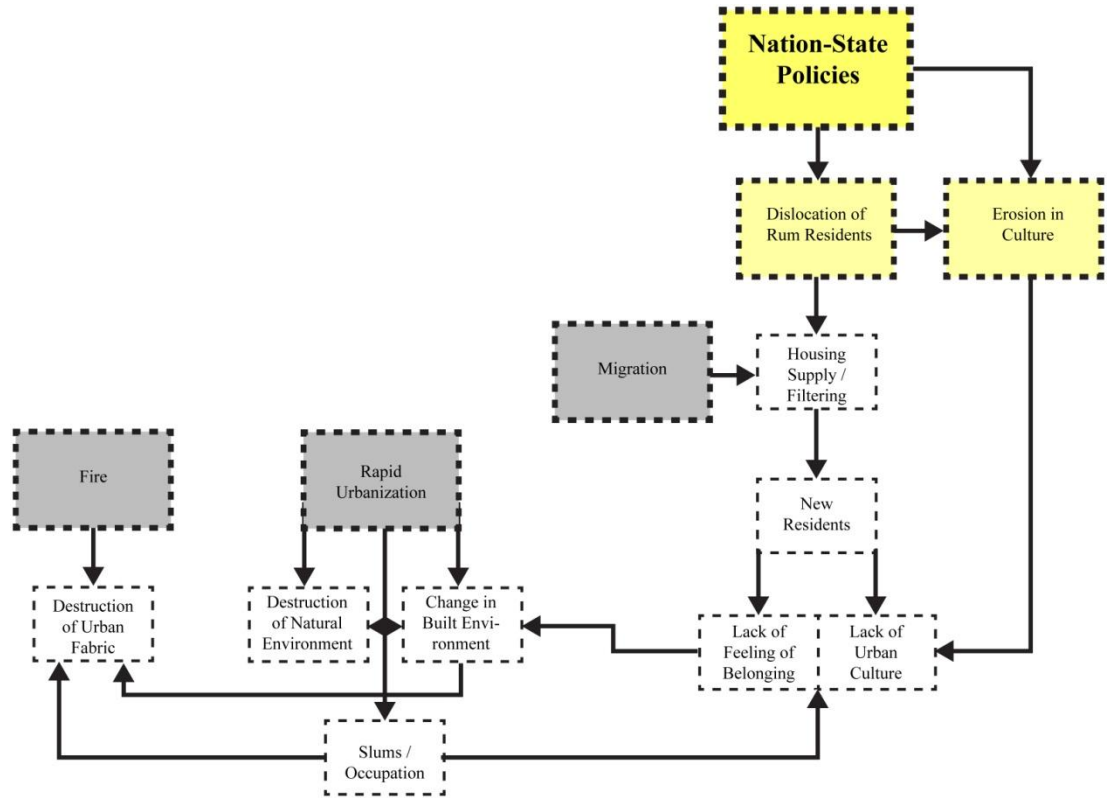


Figure 4.1: Causes and Effects of Loss of Urban Identity in Kurtuluş

These results are important for understanding the reasons of identity loss in historical areas. The study also points out the importance of ethnical diversity and cultural richness, while aiming to raise awareness in conservation of identity. This study has contributions to conservation projects and researches in terms of configuring urban identity. The techniques based on Ocakçı's and Lynch's theories can be implemented to sites in analysis phase of urban planning and design projects when determining

urban identity. Thus, with the outcomes of this analysis, conserved identity elements can be emphasized more and maintenance of their existence can be provided; for elements in erosion precautions can be taken and restorations may be needed; and for the lost values and elements reminiscent designs can be implemented in order to keep collective memory alive.

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APPENDIX

Interview Questions

Migration, Settling And Belonging

1. How many people are living in your household? How many used to live earlier?
2. During what years did you reside in Kurtuluş? In which neighbourhood(s) of Istanbul did you reside before moving to Kurtuluş, and for how long did you reside in this/these neighbourhood(s)? Why did you move away from Kurtuluş?
3. In which part of Kurtuluş were/are you residing?
4. Were you the owner of the house that you used to live in, or were you living on rent? Are you a house owner or do you live on rent today?
5. Why did you choose to reside in Kurtuluş? Did you have any relatives, friends or acquaintances by the time that you moved to Kurtuluş?
6. How was the ethnic diversity when you moved to Kurtuluş? If you are still residing there, how is the ethnic diversity now?
7. What was the attitude of the neighborhood residents towards you when you moved in, did you feel welcome? Did you have any negative experience(s) in Istanbul -- did you feel that you were discriminated, outcast or alienated? Did the attitude of people against you change in time at certain periods/turning points?
8. Which languages were used in the neighborhood? Did you or your family experience any language issues? Which languages are being used now, and do you experience any language problems now?
9. Can you describe which languages you were using, and how often were you using each language? Did the languages or the frequency of the languages you use change in the course of time?

10. Were you happy in Kurtuluş? Are you happy now (if you are still living in Kurtuluş)? If you were/are not, what were/are the reasons to make you feel unhappy?
11. Would you describe yourself as a “Kurtuluşlu” (i.e. inhabitant of Kurtuluş)?
12. Do you miss the times that you spent in Kurtuluş? If yes, can you describe why?

Daily Life

13. What was the condition of churches, schools and baths in Kurtuluş? Were they used frequently? How frequently you were using them yourself? How frequently are they being used now and how frequently do you use them?
14. Which associations used to exist in Kurtuluş, what were their activities and where were they located? Were you joining the activities of the community centers? If so, how frequently? How did these change in time?
15. What were the activities of Kurtuluş Spor Kulubu (Kurtuluş Sport Club)? What are the activities of the club now? Were you or the people around you involved in these activities? If so, how frequently? Are you or the people around you joining these activities now? If so, how frequently?
16. Were there any artistic/cultural activities in your neighborhood? How often were you joining these activities? How did the activities change in time? Are people still participating to such activities?
17. How were the festivals and holidays? Did you use to celebrate the holidays of your neighbors from other religions? Are the festivals still taking place? How did they change over the time?
18. In which places were you spending most of your time? How frequently?
(Groceries shop/market, public squares, baths, neighbors, church...)
19. Which streets and roads you were using more frequently?
20. Which place would you define as the center of Kurtuluş?
21. What was used to be where there are the bus stops now? How was this place being used?
22. What was the size and amount of the parks in your neighborhood? What is the size and amount today?

23. Did everyone used to know each other in your neighborhood/street/apartment?
Does everyone in your neighborhood/street/apartment know each other now?
24. How were the neighbor relationships? Which neighbors were you meeting more often? Do any of your old neighbors still reside in Kurtuluş? How would you describe the neighborhood relationships now? Who are the people that you meet more often?
25. Was there any security issue in your neighborhood? Is there any security issue now?
26. Were there any places that you didn't prefer to go/visit in this neighborhood? Were there any streets that you wouldn't like to pass by? Which streets were these streets, and why you wouldn't like to pass by? Would you change your route because of this reason? Is there any such situation now?
27. Can you describe your daily life? What were you doing in one day, how were you spending your time? What were your daily activities? How did these change now?

Image - Perception

28. Kurtuluş or Tatavla – which name would you prefer? Do you recall the old names of the streets and squares? Do you still use these old names?
29. What is the first thing that comes to your mind about Kurtuluş/Tatavla?
30. What is the first thing that comes to your mind when you think about the *old* Kurtuluş?
31. What comes to your mind when you think about *today's* Kurtuluş? What are the elements (places, social life, image etc.) that you would link and identify Kurtuluş with?
32. Which are the differences that you notice when you compare Kurtuluş with other neighborhoods that the minorities (Rums) reside?
33. How was the image of Kurtuluş, Ferikoy, Pangalti and Son Durak in the past? How did it change?
34. Which differences do you notice when you compare Son Durak, Ferikoy and Pangalti with each other? What were the differences in the past?

35. When did you notice a change or changes in Kurtuluş? What kind of changes did take place? What were the years that the change take place?

Is there anything else you would like to add?



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2013 "TAK (Design Atelier Kadikoy) Corners and Borders Competition" with Ezgi Kucuk, Istanbul/Turkey.

2013 "A New Campus for Istanbul" by Technical University Darmstadt and Istanbul Technical University, Istanbul/Turkey.

2012 “Istanbul Technical University Ayazaga Campus Urban Design and Architectural Project Competition” supervised by Assoc. Prof. Yuksel Demir, Istanbul/Turkey.

2012 "Istanbul Design Biennial-Across the Urban Timewarp: Grandbazaar" Istanbul Technical University Taskisla, Istanbul/Turkey.

April 2012 - July 2012 Collaborator in "The Celebration and The Commemoration Events of 100th Anniversary of the Birth of Prof. Kemal Ahmet Aru, founder of Urban Design and Urban and Regional Planning Discipline in Turkey " with support of UNESCO in Istanbul Technical University, Environment and Urban Planning Research and Implementation Center, Istanbul/Turkey.

2012 “Studio Beyoğlu: London School of Economics & Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University Workshop on Beyoğlu” Istanbul/Turkey.

2012 “*Workshop on Urban Regeneration of Informal Settlement, Kucuk Armutlu*” by Istanbul Technical University and Politecnico di Torino, Istanbul/Turkey.

2012 "Gioia Tauro Port Vision 2030 Portfolio Design Contest, reCITY EJMC, FIDIS Consortium" Catanzaro, Italy.

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2010 “*International Danube Workshop*” Budapest/Hungary.

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June-July, 2010 Intern at “*SC RUXPRO SRL Design and Consultancy Company*” Bucharest/Romania.

2009 “*Workshop about Energy, Water Supply, and Housing Problems, Investments in Gdansk*” HafenCity Universität and Gdansk University of Technology- Gdansk/Poland.

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2008-2009 *ERASMUS Exchange Programme (European Community Action Scheme for the Mobility of University Students)*, Merit Based Grant.

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2004 “*Volvo Adventure for Young Environmentalists –International Volvo Environment Contribution Final*” Göteborg/Sweden.

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